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A N
EXPOSITION
ON THE
Thirty Nine Articles
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND:

FOUNDED

On the HOLY SCRIPTURES, and the Fathers
of the Three First Centuries.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By J. VENEER, Rector of S. *Andrew's* in *Chichester*.

*Be ready always to give an Answer to every Man that
asketh you a Reason of the Hope that is in you, with
Meekness and Fear. 1 Pet. iii. 15.*

THE SECOND EDITION, with very large ADDITIONS.

VOL. II.



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ARTICLE XVIII.

Of Obtaining

SALVATION

ONLY By the

Name of **CHRIST.**




VOL. II.

ARTI-



ARTICLE XVIII.

*Of Obtaining Salvation only by the
Name of Christ.*

ART. XVIII.  They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every Man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be saved.

THE EXPOSITION.



IF any deserve to be accursed, they must surely be such as make the Gospel of Christ of none Effect, and look upon it as useles. For in vain hath Christ reveal'd it; and in vain hath he commanded it to be preach'd throughout the World, if Believers and Unbelievers are equally entitled to Salvation. And so far is it from being so, that *Acts* iv. 12. 'tis said of our blessed Saviour, that *there is no Salvation in any other; and there is none other Name under Heaven given among Men whereby we must be saved.* And *Mark* xvi. 16. Salvation is promised to those that believe, but Damnation is threatned to those that believe

believe not. Let no Man be deceived, saith *S. Ignatius* ; those Things that are in Heaven, and the Glory of Angels, and Rulers that are seen and are not seen, are all under Condemnation, without Faith in the Blood of Christ *. He is the Door of the Father, by which *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, the Prophets, and the Church enter † ; without whom we have not the true Life ‡. What is the Design of this Faith ? saith *Barnabas* || ; that they might know that they could not be delivered, unless they hoped in the Cross of Christ. *S. Cyprian* likewise tells us, That there's no coming to the Father but by his Son Jesus Christ ; as appears from what he says in the Gospel according to *St. John* ; *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life ; no Man cometh to the Father but by me.* §

IN what Manner it will please God to deal with those, among whom Christ hath not been preached, is not our Business to determine. Charity indeed requires us to hope well of such as live up to the Rules of right Reason, if any such there be ; but to place them upon a Level with the Church of God, is the very Height of Boldness. †

* *Epist. ad Smyr.*

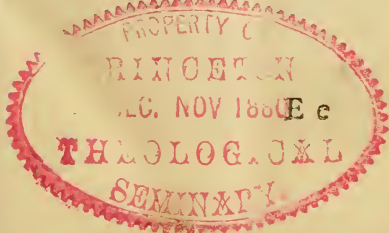
† *Epist. ad Philadel.*

‡ *Epist. ad Trallenses.*

|| *Epist. cap. 12.*

§ *Fastim. ad Quirin. lib. 3. cap. 24.*

† See *Sherlock of Judgment, c. 6. Prideaux Fasc. Cont. c. 4. q. 7. Bishop Potter's Defence of his Charge, p. 30, 31.*





ARTICLE XIX.

Of the CHURCH.

ART. XIX.

The Visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful Men. in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those Things that of Necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their Living and Manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith.

The EXPOSITION.



SINCE 'tis Religion that makes a Church, and not the Church that makes Religion, the Church is to be tried by Religion, and not Religion by the Church. The Visible Church therefore (for the Invisible Church, which consists of the Elect only, is not here treated of) is such an one as is described *Acts ii. 42.* Such an one as continues stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers: Or, in other Words, 'tis such an one

as

as professeth the Christian Religion, and believes in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and baptizes its Members in their Names, and celebrates the Lord's Supper as Christ hath appointed. These Things are Essential to a Church; and as long as they are observed, the Church continues, even though it err in some other Things. Neither doth every Error destroy a Church, so as to pull up its Foundations; but particular Churches may not only err, but fall off from Christ intirely. For that Saying of Christ, *Mat. xvi. 18. Upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it,* is to be understood of the Catholick or Universal Church only.

“ THE Apostles, saith *Tertullian*, having
 “ obtained the Gift of the Holy Ghost, which
 “ was promised them, that is, the Power of
 “ working Miracles, and the Gift of Utterance,
 “ and having first borne their Testimony to the
 “ Faith of Jesus Christ through *Judea*, and
 “ having planted Churches, went afterwards
 “ into other Parts of the World, and preached
 “ the same Doctrine of the same Faith to other
 “ Nations, and so proceeded to found Churches
 “ in every City; from which other Churches,
 “ in order to their being Churches, have bor-
 “ rowed, and continue daily to borrow their
 “ Faith and Doctrine, and by this means they
 “ are reputed Apostolick Churches, as they
 “ are the Off-spring of Apostolick Churches.
 “ Every Thing muſt be estimated according
 “ to its Original: And therefore, so many and
 “ great Churches, are nothing else but that
 “ One which was at first founded by the
 “ Apostles; and so all are the First Churches,
 E e 2 “ and

ART. XIX. " and all Apostolical, as long as they agree
 " in Unity." †

THIS Article takes Notice of the Errors of the Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, because they were very famous Churches, and were raised to the Patriarchal Height as well as the Church of *Rome*; that is, the Supreme Bishops of these Churches, had Archbishops and Bishops under them. As to the Church of *Rome*, 'tis true, indeed, that she kept the Faith uncorrupt for some Ages; and therefore, 'tis no Wonder that we find her commended by the most early Fathers, for defending and keeping the Faith, though even then she was not intirely free from Error; for St. *Jerom*, upon *Isaiab* viii. tells us, that she did not receive the Epistle to the *Hebrews* for Canonical Scripture. And since these Days of the Church of *Rome*'s Purity, Pope *Eleutherius* fell into the Error of *Montanus*, Pope *Liberius* into that of *Arius*, Pope *Zosimus* into that of *Pelagius*, &c. And that the Church itself, I mean the Church of *Rome*, is become nothing else but a very loathsome Sink of Errors, will appear from the following Articles †.

† *De Prascript.* c. 20. See *Nowelli Catech.* pag. 91. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book III. c. 1. *Chillingworth's Rel. Prot.* c. 3. Homily on *Whitsunday*, Part II. *Prideaux Fasc. Controv.* c. 4. §. 1. q. 6. *Pearson* on the Creed, Art. IX. *Field of the Church*, Book II. c. 2. Mr. *Lowth's* Sermon on *Acts* ii. 24.

† See *Abbor's* Answer to *Bishop's* Epistle, §. 13. *Hall's* Dissuasive from Popery.



ARTICLE XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound one Place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a Witness and a Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for Necessity of Salvation.

ART. XX.

The EXPOSITION.



BY the Church, we are here to understand, those that are vested with Ecclesiastical Authority. I do not intend to exclude such as have nothing to do with the Government of the Church from being a Part of the Church; for if the Governors of the Church be included in the Definition of the Church, as every body grants they are, then any Part of Ecclesiastical Authority, which of Right is exercised by these Governors, may properly and consistently be said to be vested in the Church: And since 'tis their Business to take care that *every thing be done in the Church decently, and in Order,*

I Cor. xiv. 40. and to take care that the true Faith be kept, as appears from Tit. iii. 10. A Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition, reject. And I Tim. i. 3. As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other Doctrine: It follows, that they must have a Right to decree Rites and Ceremonies, without which nothing can be done in Publick Assemblies that is decent and orderly; and that they must have Authority in Controversies of Faith, that the Peace of the Church be not disturbed by contentious Disputations, and that the Minds of the Faithful be not corrupted by the Sophistry of Hereticks.

The Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies.

BUT to be more particular with relation to Rites and Ceremonies: The Christian Church hath certainly the same Power to appoint them that the Jewish Church had. That the Jewish Church did think themselves invested with such a Power as we contend for, is plain from several Instances of their making use of it. Thus, for Instance, we read *Esther ix. 27, 28.* that after it had pleased God to baffle the Malice of *Haman*, who had intended to destroy them, *they ordained and took upon them, and upon their Seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep those two Days according to their Writing, and according to their appointed Time every Year: And that those Days should be remembered, and kept throughout every Generation, every Family, every Province, and every City; and that these Days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews, nor the Memorial of them perish from their Seed.* Again, our Saviour and his Apostles did use indifferent Things, which were not prescribed by God in Divine

Divine Worship. Thus he joined in the Synagogal Worship, *John* xviii. 20, &c. though (if the Place itself were at all prescribed by God) the Manner of that Service was not so much as hinted at. Thus he used the Cup of Charity in the Passover, though it was not instituted by God, *Luke* xxii. 17. The Feast of Dedication was an Human Institution, yet he vouchsafed to be present at it, *John* x. 22, 23. Nay, he complied with the *Jews* in the very Posture of the Passover, which they changed to sitting, though God had prescribed standing. The Apostles also observed the Hours of Prayers, which were of Human Institution, *Acts* iii. 1.

Now if the *Jews* prescribed indifferent Things, though their Religion was so exact in prescribing Ceremonies, and if Christ and his Apostles complied with them therein, certainly we may both prescribe and use indifferent Things under the Gospel. *Irenæus* *, speaking of Churches that differed as to their Observation of Fasting-Days, and the Feast of *Easter*, says, that they had, notwithstanding these Differences, kept Peace with one another; and that the differing about Fasting had been a Means to confirm the Unity of Faith. And that they who did not observe in the same Manner that others did, and were against observing in that Manner, kept Peace among them when they came among them: And that no Person had at any time fallen away upon this Account. In a Word, what *S. Augustine* and his Mother received from *S. Ambrose*, is worthy to be recommended to all; that in all Things, not contrary to Truth

* Page 465, 466. See *Euseb. Hist. lib. 5. c. 24.*

and good Manners, it becomes a good and prudent Christian to practise, according to the Custom of the Church where he comes, if he will not be a Scandal to them, nor have them to be a Scandal to him. †

The Church must ordain nothing contrary to the Word of God.

BUT whatever hath been, or may be said upon this Head, it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is contrary to God's Word written; for otherwise, the Word of God would, in a little time, be made a Jest of, and the Authority of the Church would fall to the Ground, if it had no better Foundation to depend upon. Nor would our Saviour's Charge to his Apostles, and their Successors, be complied with, which was, that they should *teach Men to observe all Things whatsoever he had commanded them, Mat. xxviii. 20.*

“ AVOID those corrupt Trees, saith St. Ignatius, which bring forth deadly Fruit, of which if a Man taste, he shall die thereby; for these are not planted by the Father.*” That we must by no means depart from the Commandments of the Gospel, saith S. Cyprian, and that the Disciples are to do what their Master taught and did, the blessed Apostle doth more fully and strenuously insist on in another Place, meaning *Gal. i.* The Words which he refers to, are contained in the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Verses: *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the Grace*

† See *Mason* of the Authority of the Church. *Hooker's Eccles. Pol.* Book III. and VIII. *Potter* of Church Government, cap. 5. §. 2, 7. Abridgment of the *London Cases*, cap. 1.

* *Epist. ad Trall.*

of Christ unto another Gospel; which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. And then he (S. Cyprian) adds, neither are we to follow the Custom of Men, but the Truth of God *.

NEITHER is it lawful for the Church to expound one Place of Scripture that it may be repugnant to another; for this would be a making God Almighty contradict himself, in Opposition to what S. Paul saith, Rom. iii. 4. *Let God be true, and every Man a Lyar.*

Neither may it expound one Part of Scripture so as to contradict another.

WHEREFORE, although the Church be a Witness, and a Keeper of Holy Writ; for to the Christians are committed the Oracles of God, as they were to the Jews in Old Time, as S. Paul observes, Rom. iii. 2. Yet it ought not to decree any Thing against the same, which is farther confirmed by the Answer of Peter and John to the Jewish Rulers, Acts iv. 19. *Whether it be right in the Sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* Neither ought the Church to inforce any Thing besides to be believed for Necessity of Salvation, which is likewise farther confirmed by what S. Paul saith, Gal. iii. 15. *Brethren, I speak after the Manner of Men; though it be but a Man's Covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no Man disannulleth or addeth thereto.* We may argue therefore, that much less may Men presume to take from, or add to the Word of God †.

* Epist. 63.

† See Article VI.



ARTICLE XXI.

Of General Councils.

ART. XXI.



General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes: And when they be gathered together (soasmuch as they be an assembly of Men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may erre, and sometime have erred, even in Things pertaining unto God. Wherefore Things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

The EXPOSITION.



HERE were indeed many Provincial Councils, but no General Council before *Constantine*, by whose Authority the first, that is, the *Nicene* Council, was assembled, as the rest were by the Authority of the following Emperors. And *S. Paul* tells us, *Rom. xiii. i.* that every Soul must be subject to the higher Powers. From whence it follows, that the Bishops are not to leave their own Country, and go into the Ter-

ritories

ritories of other Princes, without their Prince's Leave. And if they cannot do this, they cannot without the Will of Princes assemble at General Councils*.

AND though a General Council be lawfully assembled; yet, inasmuch as the Bishops, of whom it consists, are as much Men, when in Council, as they are when out of it, and liable to the Weaknesses and Imperfections of Human Nature, 'tis no wonder that what is Human should err, as in Fact it hath †.

THEREFORE, whatever a General Council may ordain or decree, is of no Weight, if it be not agreeable to Scripture. And thus much *S. Ignatius* advised long before any Councils of this kind were held. “ Stop your Ears, saith he, if any Man speak to you without the Lord Jesus Christ §.

FOR farther Satisfaction, see Article VI.

* See *Andrews's* Sermon of calling Assemblies. *Jewel's Apol. Defen.* Part VI. c. 12. Div. 2. &c. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book VIII. *Field of the Church*, Book V. c. 52.

† See *Bilson* of Christian Subjection, Part II. p. 369. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 4. q. 4. *Jewel's Apol. Defen.* Part IV. c. 22. Div. 3, 4. *Field of the Church*, Book V. c. 51.

§ *Epist. ad Trall.*





ARTICLE XXII.

Of PURGATORY.

ART. XXII. *The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and adoration, as well of Images, as of Reliques; and also of Invocation of Saints, is a fond Thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no Warrantie of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.*

The EXPOSITION.

I *f we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin.* These are the Words of St. John, in his First Epistle, chap. i. and ver. 7. And Rev. xiv. 13. we have these Words, *And I heard a Voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their Labours, and their Works do follow them.* And S. Clement of Alexandria tells us †, That he who repents here, shall not repent when he leaves

† *Quis Dives salv. c. 42. p. 121. and c. 40. p. 105.*

his Body ; neither shall he be ashamed when he sees his Saviour coming in his Glory and Power ; neither shall Fire burn him. This 'tis to repent and condemn such Things as are past, and beg Pardon for them of the Father, who alone, among all others, is able to undo those Things that are done ; and by his Mercy, and the Dew of his Spirit, can blot out our Transgressions : In which, saith he, if I find you, for them will I judge you. “ There is not, saith S. *Cyprian*, “ neither can there be, any Confession of Sins “ among the Dead. ” *

IN a Word, it appears from the latter End of the 25th Chapter of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, and several other Places of Scripture, that there will be a State of Eternal Happiness after this *Of Purgatory.* Life, for the Good and Pious, and a State of Eternal Misery for the Wicked ; but a third State, of a mixt Nature, is no where so much as hinted at throughout the Bible. So groundless is the *Romish* Fiction of Purgatory, by which they mean a Place in which departed Souls are cleansed, which were not fully purged from their Sins in this Life †.

WHAT this Article calls the Doctrine of *Of Pardons.* Pardons, is also called the Doctrine of Indulgences, by which those of the Church of *Rome* heap to themselves an immense Treasure out of the over-flowing Merits of Christ and the Saints, of which the Pope is the chief Manager: He

* *Epist.* 55.

† See Homily of Prayer, Part III. *Stillingsfleet's* Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, p. 180. *Patrick's* Answer to the Touch-Stone, §. 47. *Prideaux Fasc. Contr.* 64. §. 2. q. 7. *Jewell's Def. Apol.* Part II. c. 16. Div. 1. *Field* of the Church, pag. 335, 751. *Tilloison* on 1 *Cor.* iii. 15. and 2 *Cor.* v. 6.

takes upon him to apply, to whomsoever he pleaseth, as much of these Merits as he thinks fit, for the Remission of such Punishments as remain to be inflicted after the Faults themselves are forgiven.

FOR those of the Church of *Rome* suppose, that after Mens Sins by the Sacrament of Penance are forgiven to them, so that now there is no more Guilt remaining, nor by Consequence any more Obligation to an Eternal Punishment due to it; there continues nevertheless, an Obligation to Temporal Punishment, to be undergone as a true and proper Satisfaction for Sin, either here or in Purgatory; and that this, the Pope hath Power to dispense with, by applying to them the Satisfactions not only of Christ, but of all his Saints; who, having led severe Lives, and suffered a greater Temporal Punishment than was requisite to satisfy for their own Sins, have left a Stock in Bank to the Treasure of the Church, for the Advantage of others, and the Remission of those Temporal Pains by such an Application. This is that they properly call Indulgence; for the Support of which, there is not one Passage in Holy Scripture; but there are several which are inconsistent with the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome* in this Particular. Thus *1 John* i. 9. we are told, that it is God that *cleanseth us from all Unrighteousness*. And *St. Peter* speaking of our Blessed Saviour, *Acts* iv. 12. hath these Words: *Neither is there Salvation in any other; for there is none other Name under Heaven given among Men whereby we must be saved*. And the Prophet *Isaiab* tells us, chap. liii. 5. *That he was wounded for our Transgressions, and bruised for our Iniquities; That*
the

the Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and that with his Stripes we are healed. And that the Saints have no Merit at all, and much less such a Degree of it as this Doctrine supposes, is already proved under the XIVth Article.

I MUST not conclude this Head, without taking Notice of another Doctrine of the Church of Rome. Our Blessed Saviour says to his Disciples, *John xx. 23. Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted.* And St. James, chap. v. ver. 15. speaking of a Sick Person, saith, *Κὼν ἀμαρτίας ἢ πεποινκῶς ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.* Which Words are not to be rendered as our Translators have rendered them, but thus: *And if he have committed Sins, Absolution shall be given him*; as appears from Dr. Hammond's Notes upon those Words, and from the Practice of the Primitive Church, the best of Commentaries, which always granted Absolution to Persons lying in Danger of Death. From hence the Church of England rightly concludes, that Christ hath left a Power with his Church to declare Forgiveness of Sins to all such as truly repent of them, and believe in him; and that when the Ministers of his Word are called in to the Assistance of sick or scrupulous Persons, they may, upon the Supposition of a true Repentance, pronounce in God's Name, the Pardon of their Sins to them. But in this, they only deliver the Sentence of God; which, if the Sinners be truly penitent, God will infallibly make good; otherwise it would be of no Use to them, because it was erroneously, though charitably passed upon them.

BUT the Church of Rome holds, That tho' a Sinner be not affected with such a Sorrow for his
his

his Sins, as would otherwise be sufficient to obtain God's Pardon; yet by rightly confessing them to a Priest, they shall be forgiven, and an Entrance opened into Heaven by the Power of the Keys in Absolution. She likewise holds, That the Pope may grant a Man a full Remission of Sins, though he has neither confessed them to any Priest, nor finds in his own Heart any manner of Contrition for them; so that she usurps upon the Prerogative of God's Power to forgive Sins, *Mark ii. 7.* and also lays a very dangerous Stumbling-Block in the Way of wicked Men; whilst she encourages them to rely on such a Sorrow, and such a Method for the Forgiveness of Sins, as will certainly fail and ruin them in the End. For the Scripture assures us, in Places innumerable, that *except we repent we shall all perish*; and that *without Holiness, no Man shall see the Lord* *.

Of Images.

THE Worshippers of Images have endeavoured to excuse themselves from the heinous Charge of Idolatry, by distinguishing betwixt an Image and an Idol, betwixt an Absolute and a Relative Worship; but in vain: For God hath not only forbidden the Worshipping of Idols, as *1 John v. 21. Little Children, keep yourselves from Idols*: And in a Multitude of Places besides; but hath absolutely forbidden us to pay any Religious Worship to Images, *Exod. xx. 4, 5. Thou shalt not make unto thee any Graven Image, or any Likeness of any Thing that is in*

* See *Stillingfleet's Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, page 478. *Patrick's Answer to the Touchstone*, c. 16. *Field of the Church*, Book III. Append. cap. 25. *Archbishop Wake's Sermons*, page 79, 80, and 308. His *Exposition on the Catechism*, §. 18.

Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth, Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me.

“ WITHOUT doubt, saith *Laſtantius*, there is no Religion where there is an Image. For if Religion relate to such Things as are Divine, there is nothing Divine but Heavenly Things. Images therefore have nothing to do with Religion, because nothing can be Heavenly which is made out of the Earth*.” “ If we are, saith *Origen*, to hearken to those who endeavour to gain Profelytes to their several Parties among the *Greeks* or Barbarians; how much rather should we believe in Him who is God over all, and teacheth us, that He alone is to be worshipped, and that we are in a manner to despise all other Things which either never were, or are indeed worthy of some Respect, yet do not deserve to be adored and worshipped †?

As to Reliques, it seems strange to me how they came to be adored, since the Saints themselves, when they were upon Earth, refused Adoration when it was offered them, and that too with a great deal of Vehemence, as we see, *Acts* x. 25, 26. And as Peter was coming in, *Cornelius* met him, and fell down at his Feet and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a Man. And chap. xiv. ver. 13, 14, 15. Then the Priest of Jupiter

* *Institut. lib. 2. c. 19.*

† *Lib. 1. pag. 10.*

*which was before their City, brought Oxen and Garlands unto the Gates, and would have done Sacrifice with the People. Which when the Apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their Cloaths, and ran in among the People, crying out and saying, Sirs, why do ye these Things? We also are Men of like Passions with you. And how the Reliques came to be more holy than the Saints themselves, is hard to imagine. I shall close this Head with a Declaration of the Church of Smyrna; † “ We worship Christ as “ the Son of God; but the Martyrs we love, “ as we ought, as Disciples and Imitators of “ our Lord, and for the Sake of their stedfast “ and unshaken Affection to their King and “ Master.” **

*Of Invocation
of Saints.*

As to Invocation of Saints, since all Invocation is vain where there is not Faith, *James i. 6, 7.* where we are commanded to *ask in Faith*; and since there can be no Faith, where there is no Word of God to support it, it follows, that Invocation of Saints must be a vain Thing, inasmuch as there is no Word of God to found it on. And farther, since we have but *one Mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5* who is able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by him, *Heb. vii. 25.* whosoever betakes himself to the Mediation of Saints, puts a Slight upon Christ, who is our true and only Mediator. The Reason which the *Romanists* alledge for the Invocation of Saints, is only a Simile or Resemblance of the Court of Heaven to an Earthly Prince, whom no inferior Subject must presume to ap-

† Eusebii Hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

* See *Stillingfleet's* Idol. c. 1. *Patrick's* Answer to the Touchstone, §. 34, 49. Homily against Idolatry. *Jewel's* Reply, Art. XIV. *Bilson* of Christ. Subj. Part IV. p. 315.

proach with any Petition, be it never so reasonable, till some Officer of State, or Great Man about the Prince, is pleased to introduce him, and speak in his Behalf. From whence they argue, That we who are wretched Sinners, on whom the Vengeance of God is ready to fall, are not to rush, immediately into God's Presence, when we desire to have our Wants supplied, but to make our Application to those who are supposed to be very high in his Favour, and intimately conversant with him.

To which I answer, That Earthly Princes have neither Time nor Opportunities to examine into the Truth and Reasonableness of all Petitions that are brought them; and that if Men were promiscuously admitted to them, it would endanger their Safety. And lastly, That tho' they may not suffer Men to approach them without being introduced by some Favourite or Minister, out of an Opinion that they thereby procure the greater Respect from their Subjects; and though this Reservedness may have its desired Effect, yet every Man, I am sure, would be gladly freed from the Trouble which it many times occasions. Why then should we look out for others to make known our Requests to God, who are not declared in the Scriptures to be capable of doing it, or to be authorized for this Purpose, especially since we are commanded to go *boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in Time of Need*, Heb. iv. 16. ? *

* See *Nowell's Cat.* p. 105, &c. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 4. §. 2. q. 1. *Patrick's Answer to the Touchstone*, §. 33. 34. *Stillingsfleet's Idol.* c. 2. Homily of Prayer, Part II. *Field of the Church*, Book III. c. 20. and Append. c. 22. *Abbot's Answer to Bishop's Epistle*. §. 9.



An APPENDIX to the EXPOSITION
on the Twenty-second ARTICLE.

IT is not a little to be considered in Opposition to the Doctrine of Purgatory, that the Scriptures not only every where represent to us this present Life as the Time of Trial and Exercise, of Sufferings and Afflictions; but also encourage us, on this very Consideration, to bear them with Patience and Resignation, that as soon we die they shall all end, and we shall receive the *blessed Reward* which God hath prepared for them that bear them as they ought to do. I look upon it, saith St. Paul, Rom. viii. 18. *That the Sufferings of this present Life are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed.* And again, 2 Cor. iv. 17. *For the Sufferings of this present Life work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.* Many other Places of this kind there are, in which our present Sufferings are compared with, and opposed to our future Reward. Now, if when all these Encounters are ended, there be still another and more dreadful Sort of Trial to be undergone elsewhere, how could the Apostle have used those kind of *Antitheses*, and have encouraged us to a Constancy in our present Afflictions, from the Prospect of a Time, when, according to these Men, there are yet greater and more severe ones to be undergone by us? And this then may be a second Observation; That the Scripture always speaks of the Death of
Good

Good Men as a Blessing, an immediate Rest from their Labours; and therefore understood nothing of those Torments to which they are now condemned by the Church of Rome, according to *Revel. xiv. 13.* before-mentioned. 'Twas this Assurance that made the Holy Men of Old so desirous of their Dissolution, that they might find an End of all those Labours and Evils which they suffered here. *I am in a Straight betwixt two*, saith *St. Paul*, *having a Desire to depart and to be with Christ*, *Phil. i. 23.* Surely *St. Paul* never thought of Purgatory, when he talked thus of going to Christ; nor would he have appeared so desirous of his Dissolution, had he known he should have been cast into such a Fire as the *Romanists* suppose to be in this infernal Region: Nor can it be reasonably said, that this was the Apostle's peculiar Happiness; and therefore, that though he indeed was secure of going immediately to Christ, yet others were not therefore to expect the like Favour; for *2 Cor. v. 1.* we find him promising the very same to all Christians indifferently; *We know*, says he, *that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building with God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.* And again, *ver. 8.* *When we are absent from the Body*, says he, *we are present with the Lord*: By which it appears, that when good Men die, they go to the Lord, to Christ, to their heavenly House; and surely that is not Purgatory. To this agree those few Instances we have of Just Mens dying, in the *New Testament.* *Lazarus* in the Parable, is said to be in *Abraham's Bosom*; the *Penitent Thief* on the *Cross*, was promised that he should be that Day with Christ in Paradise. And we have good Reason to believe, that the same is the State of all others,



not only from the Passages already mentioned, and many more of the like kind that might have been offered; but also from this, that we have not, as I observed before, in all the Holy Scripture, the least Intimation of any such Place as Purgatory: That there is neither Precept nor Example, of any one that either prayed for the Delivery of their Friends departed out of these Pains, or any Directions left for any one hereafter so to do: Now certainly it is not easy to be imagined, that the Holy Penmen should have been so perfectly silent in this Matter, had there been so great a Cause for it, as the Delivery of their Souls out of Purgatory undoubtedly would have been; or had they then esteemed it so excellent and necessary a Piece of Christian Charity, as it is now pretended to be. And this Presumption against Purgatory the Holy Scriptures will afford us. If we look, Secondly, to the Holy Fathers of the Church, we shall find them proceeding exactly upon the same Principles: They thought the Just when they were departed were presently in a *State of Happiness*; that it was injurious to Christ to hold, that such as died in his Faith were to be pitied; that Christians therefore ought not by any Means to be afraid of dying. Thus *St. Cyprian*, in another Place besides that which I have already mentioned, tells us, that 'tis for him to fear Death, that is unwilling to go to Christ: And that 'tis for him to be unwilling to go to Christ, who doth not believe that he beginneth to reign with Christ. *Simeon* said, continues he, *Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace*; proving and witnessing, that the Servants of God then have Peace, then enjoy free and quiet Rest, when being drawn from these Storms of the World, we arrive at the Haven of our ever-

everlasting Habitation and Security. — Let us therefore embrace the Day that bringeth every one to his own House, which having taken us away from hence, and loosed us from the Snares of this World, returneth us to Paradise, and to the Kingdom of Heaven.

I SHALL now leave it to any one to consider, whether this Holy Father, who discoursed thus of our Dying, believed any thing of these tormenting Purgatory-Fires that now keep Men in Anxiety, and make the best Christians afraid to die? And the same is the Language of all the rest. St. *Chrysoptom* particularly inforces the same Considerations, from those Psalms that were usually said at the Burial of the Dead. *Return to thy Rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath been gracious unto thee.* You see, says that Holy Father, how that Death is a Blessing, a Rest. — God calls it a Blessing, and dost thou lament? What couldst thou have done more if thou hadst been his Enemy*? But to put this Matter, as to the Point of Antiquity, beyond all Doubt, I will remark distinctly two or three Things. 1. That several of the most antient Fathers, not only believed the Souls of the Faithful to be in Happiness, immediately upon their Departure, but to be carried instantly into Heaven: So *Athenagoras*, *St. Cyprian*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Chrysoptom*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *St. Jerom*, and

* *Hieron.* in *Of. com.* 3. *Augustin.* *Epist.* 28. ad *Hier.* tom. 2. p. 31. A. & *Tract.* 49. in *Joan.* tom. 9. p. 124. A. *Auctor.* *Quæst.* sub *Justini* nomin. *quæst.* 75. p. 436. D. E. Paris 1636. *Chrysopt.* *Hom.* de *SS. Bernice & Profdore.* tom. 1. *Frontod.* p. 563. Paris, G. L. 1636.

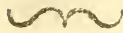
others †. Now certainly, they who believed that Just Men when they die go straight to Heaven, could not have believed that they were for a long while after their Death tormented in Purgatory ; and therefore, all these must have been of an Opinion different from the Church of *Rome* in this Matter. Secondly, Another Thing remarkable in some of the antient Fathers is, that they utterly deny, that the Soul is capable of being purged in another World ; and this is, to be sure, expressly contrary to the present Doctrine of the *Romanists* in this Point. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen*, speaking of the Judgment after Death, saith, That 'tis better to be now chastised and purged, than to be delivered over to that Torment, when it shall be no longer a Time of Purgation, but of Punishment. Where we see the Father expressly opposes the Time of Purgation in this Life, to the Time, not of Purgation, but of Punishment in the next. And *St. Chrysoptom* says, If the Soul be purged here (that is from Sin) that Fire shall not hurt it when it departs hence : But the Soul that goes hence in Sin, that Fire (not of Purgatory, but of Hell) shall receive. This was the Doctrine of those Times ; the Soul that was clear of Sin, by God's Pardon and Forgiveness, no Fire could hurt ; that which was not, no Fire could cleanse ; but it was to remain in the Torments of Hell for ever. Nor may we omit to observe, Thirdly, That the Fathers take no Notice of Purgatory, in such Places, as, had they believed it, they could not well have omitted it. Hence we see, no

† Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis. Cyp. lib. 10. tom. 1. p. 173. Cyril. Alexand. in Joan. 19, 30. lib. 12. tom. 4. Ed. G. L. Paris 1638. P. 1069. B. C. 7 Hier. Epist. 25. fol. 71. C. tom. 1. Edit. Erasmi.

mention of it in any of their Creeds or Councils, or Catechetical Discourses, in which the other Articles of their Faith are set down and explained. The fifth General Council, which condemned *Origen* for his Errors concerning the Pains after Death, never mentioned any other Purgatory in Opposition to that which he had Heretically invented. But that which shews it yet more plainly to have been unknown to them, is, that not only St. *Augustine*, but Pope *Gregory* himself, the great Patron of this Error, yet spoke of it with some Doubt; not as they used to do of a Point firmly believed by the Church, but as a peculiar Thing, in which they were not themselves very well resolved. When the Fathers disputed against *Origen*, they none of them mention any of the Purgatory Pains, which the *Orthodox Faith* taught, to distinguish them from those which he had erroneously invented. When *Epiphanius* disputed against *Aerius*, concerning the Reason and Benefit of praying for the Dead, is it to be imagined he could then have forgot the great Concern of delivering the Souls departed out of Purgatory, had the Church then believed any such Thing? To all which, if we finally add, That the *Greek Church* neither at this Day does, nor ever did receive this Doctrine; I cannot tell what clearer Evidence we can desire to shew, that this whole Business of Purgatory, is but an Error of the *Latin Church*, not an Article of the *Catholick Faith*.

THE Subtlety of a *Romish Adversary*, may, perhaps, furnish out an Appearance of a Contradiction from what I have said in relation to *Origen*. He'll say, perhaps, that I have first quoted this Father in Opposition to Purgatory, and then

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then have acknowledged that he invented a Purgatory himself: 'Tis therefore necessary to distinguish betwixt the Purgatory of *Origen*, and that of the Church of *Rome*. *Origen's* Opinion was, That after this Life there were no other Pains but Purgatory, that is, that after a certain Time, not only all Men, though never so wicked, but the Devils themselves, should be purified by them, and so saved in the End; or, in other Words, that the Torments of Hell shall not be Eternal. This *Bellarmino* himself confesses to have been his Opinion *; and to this, the Place which he quotes out of him clearly refers: "He that is saved, is saved by Fire, that so, if by Chance he has any thing of Lead mixed in him, the Fire may melt and separate it, that so all may be made pure Gold †." Whereas the *Romish* Purgatory, is defined to be a Fire, in which the Souls of the Faithful, being tormented for a Time, are expiated; that so a Passage may be opened for them into their Eternal Country, into which no defiled Thing can enter.

FROM hence it appears, That the Dictates of right Reason are no less against this Doctrine of Purgatory, than Scripture and Antiquity. They who are supposed to go thither, must be perfect in Charity, in the Grace of God, and secure of their Salvation; for their Satisfaction is supposed to have been made by the Blood of Christ, and so God's Justice is supposed to be satisfied. Now when all this is already done, to what end is it that they should be tormented? Had there been any

* *Bellarmino*. de Purg. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 608. B.

† *Origen*, Hom. 6. in Exod. Catechism. ad Paroch. Part I. Art. 5. §. 5. p. 41. colon. 1684.

Means by such a Purgatory, either to fit them for Heaven, or to satisfy the Divine Justice, there might then have been some Pretence for it. But to think that God punishes Men only for punishing-sake, and this too his own Servants, Men who are in his Favour, that have lived well, and upon that account are justified by him thro' the Blood of Christ; this is, such an Idea of an infinite Love, Mercy, and Goodness, as sure can never be the Dictate of right Reason, I think I may say is utterly inconsistent with it. 'Tis true, indeed, that God doth sometimes forgive Men their Sins with relation to the Eternal Punishments of another World, when he doth not think fit to execute them, from Temporal Punishments; but Scripture as well as Reason will acquaint us, that there are several very excellent Ends to be served by it, both for the Benefit of the Sinner, and to warn others by his Example not to offend; nor is there the least mention of any Thing of this kind made in Scripture, where the Punishments inflicted, or to be inflicted, are not clearly limited to this Life; for, indeed, there can be no Necessity to make those Men better, who are finally secure of Eternal Happiness; or to punish those whose Sins are *fully* and *perfectly* attoned for, by the Blood of Christ. And when we have departed this Life, our Sufferings in another State cease to be Examples to such as survive us; for Examples of this kind, are nothing else in the very Nature of them, but Appeals to our Senses to convince us of our Folly, to awaken us to a Consideration of God's Power and Threatnings, and to rivet it in our Minds, — *That there is a God that judgeth in the Earth.* As to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning Venial Sins, *i. e.* such Sins as are light and trivial,

trivial, which we are told deserve some Temporal Mulct, but not Eternal Torments; so that he that dies impenitent in them can't go to Heaven, because nothing that is in the least defiled can enter therein; nor to Hell, because he deserves not those everlasting Burnings; and that therefore, there must be a third State, even Purgatory, where he may in some Sense be purged, and through his own Satisfaction, in enduring its Torments, prepare and qualify himself for Heaven: As to this Doctrine, I say, it sets a Man above the Satisfaction of Christ's Merits, by supposing his Sins to be too small to need his Expiation; it finds Remission for a Man dying in Impenitence; it contradicts the whole Current of the Gospel, which teacheth us, that without Repentance there can be no Remission: And again, to fix a Purgatory, calls in Question the Justice and Equity of God himself, who hath pronounced by his Holy Spirit, that he that shall offend in the least of his Commands, shall in no wise be his Disciple, and then, certainly, by no Means enter into his Glory.

THE Texts of Scripture which the *Romanists* use to urge for the Support of their Figment of Purgatory, are all of them set down in the Margin †; but I cannot prevail upon myself to consider above two of them, the Application which is made of the rest is too trifling to be seriously refuted. The First of those Texts

† *Numb.* xiv. 32, 33. *Exod.* i. 15. *Ja.* ii. 25. *Mat.* v. 22. *1 Cor.* xv. 29. *1 John* v. 16. *Zech.* ix. 11. *Psal.* lxvi. 12. *1 Sam.* iii. *2 Kings* i. *Mich.* vii. 8, 9. *Isaiab* ix. 18. *Mal.* iii. 3. *Mat.* xii. 32. *1 Cor.* iii. 15. *Matt.* v. 25, 26. *1 Pet.* iii. 19. *Acts* ii. 24. *Luke* xxxii. 42. *Phil.* ii. 10.

that I shall take Notice of, is *Mat. xii. 32. But whoſoever ſpeaketh againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in the World to come.* The main Streſs of the Argument from theſe Words lies in that Expreſſion, *neither in this World, nor in the World to come*; that is, as *Bellarmino* and his Followers underſtand it, *neither in this World, nor in Purgatory.* Indeed *St. Auguſtine* ſeems to infer ſome future Remiſſion of Sins after this Life from this Text, but what Remiſſion, or of what Sins he declares he dares not aver; ſo that his Conjecture was far from *Bellarmino's* Imagination of a *Purgatory*, which determines what is remitted, *viz.* the Guilt of ſome light Miſcarriages; and alſo the Way how it is remitted, *viz.* by a determinate Endurance of Pains and Torments. Secondly, Whatever Remiſſion that Holy Father conceived ſhould be hereafter, it could only be a Thing probable and conjectural, and therefore no Ground for an Article of Faith, which he tells us is to be founded on plain and indubitable Scripture, becauſe he himſelf was both doubtful and uncertain of it, as is apparent in four diſtinct Places of his Writings *. I confeſs it ſeems very ſtrange to me, how the World to come ſhould here ſignify *Purgatory*, which is fixed in an intermediate Space of Time between a Man's Death and the Reſurrection; ſince the Scriptures do ſo generally underſtand by it the Day of Judgment, or the Time after the Reſurrection; as we read particularly *Luke xx. 35. Thoſe that ſhall be accounted worthy to enjoy that World, and the*

* *Sti. Auguſt. Enchirid. ad Laurentium, cap. 66. & 68. juxta finem in 3^o quaerſt. ad Dulcit. quaerſt. 1. de fide & operibus, cap. 16.*

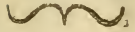
Resurrection from the Dead. The coming of Christ to Judgment is every where represented to us as the End of this World, so that the other must commence from the Time of his coming to Judgment; and this, if considered, will take off all Pretences of Impertinence in these Words of our Saviour, without that *Purgatory Remission* which the Cardinal infers for a *Salvo* for our Saviour's Discretion in expressing himself in these Terms, *neither in this World, neither in the World to come.* For is it any Impertinence or Uncouthness to say, Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, is a Sin of that dreadful Account, as shall neither be allowed Pardon in this World, by the Absolution of Men, nor be pronounced or proclaimed pardoned by Christ himself at the Day of Judgment, when he shall perfect and consummate the Remission or Punishment entered here on Earth, when he shall call the Righteous, *come ye Blessed*, give the final Impression to their Pardon; but against the Ungodly pronounce, *go ye Cursed*, eternally bind up those Sins which have, or ought to have been bound on Earth. And that which may confirm this Explication, is the Use and Manner of the Scriptures themselves, which all along express the Time for the Retributions of Rewards and Punishments to be the *Day of Judgment*, as *Mat. xxv. 32, 33.* And, indeed, this is elegantly explained by the Cardinal himself, in his fourth Chapter concerning Purgatory, where he shews us, That though a particular Sentence passes upon every Man in the Day of his particular Trial after Death, yet the same is said to be done at the Last Day, and that properly too, because then it is published before the whole World, to the greatest Honour of the Righteous, the highest Infamy

Infamy and Reproach of the Ungodly: And does the Scripture any where suggest to us, under the Title of the World to come, any Place or State distinct from Heaven and Hell? So that without inferring a third Place in the World to come for the Remission of Sins, according to *Bellarmino* himself, our Saviour's manner of speaking may be allowed most clear and expressive. Secondly, Since Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is here expressed a Sin of the most unpardonable Provocation to God; since our Saviour repeats it with the highest Abhorrency, telling us twice, That though all other Sins and Blasphemies may be forgiven, yet still that against the Holy Ghost shall not, may we not very agreeably to the whole Narration, here aver, that our Lord makes use of that Expression, *neither in this World, nor in the World to come*, rather by way of Aggravation, or to express still the greater Heinousness of the Sin, then tacitly to infer, that there remains a Remission and Forgiveness of other Sins in the World to come; rather to shew that this Sin shall be eternally unpardonable, or, as *St. Mark* expresses it, *ver. 14.* never be forgiven at all, than to teach us, that other Sins and Transgressions not forgiven in this, may yet be remitted in the World to come, and that too, before we enter into the other World, which is the Case of Remission had by Purgatory. All that the Cardinal replies to this is, That by a like Aggravation we may shuffle off Hell itself, and call it an Aggravation when our Lord condemns the Wicked, *Go you into everlasting Burnings*; but by what Logick, or from what Premises he draws his Conclusion, it is past my Capacity to conjecture. Our Lord in divers Places, and upon several Opportunities, expressly tells us,

That

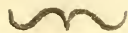
That the Portion of the Wicked shall be everlasting Burnings: Well, therefore, when he says, Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, *neither in this World, neither in the World to come*, he must either be understood to insinuate a Remission of Sins in Purgatory, or we may as reasonably conclude, that there is no such Punishment as Hell-Fire. Is not the Cardinal more impertinent in this Induction, than he would infer our Saviour's Expression to be, were there no Purgatory Remission after this Life? That this Expression is Hyperbolic and Figurative, St. *Mark* manifestly insinuates, briefly comprehending this more figurative and ample Circuition of St. *Matthew* in that short Speech, *Non remittetur in Æternum*, shall never be forgiven.

INDEED, *Bellarmino* says, That St. *Mark* is a fit Interpreter of St. *Matthew*, and his Reason for it is, because St. *Matthew* writ more copiously and largely, and St. *Mark's* Gospel is but a Compendium of St. *Matthew*: As if that Man which contracts another Man's Meaning, and that too by the Guidance of an infallible Spirit, were not to be allowed a competent Judge of his Intentions. Or again, as if the more Flourishing and Rhetorical, were to determine and over-rule the more Concise and Comprehensive. 'Tis certain St. *Mark*, who was guided by the same Spirit with St. *Matthew*, hath delivered nothing different from, or discordant with St. *Matthew's* Meaning; and therefore, since the whole Tendency of the Scriptures may incline us this way, and St. *Mark* hath explained it to this Purpose, must it not be most consequential to infer, that, *To be forgiven, neither in this World, nor in the World to come*, imports



imports no more but this, *shall never be forgiven*. As for this Induction which the Cardinal makes, either our Saviour spake the Words as St. *Matthew* relates them, or as St. *Mark*, or as both: If as St. *Matthew*, or as both, we have gained our Point, it will in no measure advantage his Cause; for though he spake the very Words of St. *Matthew*; yet he meant no more by them than St. *Mark* hath explained: So that by Consequence, they are very far from evincing a third Place for Remission of Sins after Death; or instructing us, That that Remission in the World to come, which he here denies to the Sin against the Holy Ghost, he tacitly insinuates to be compatible to other Sins. The Cardinal himself acknowledges such an Inference as this to be no good Logick: And to argue by way of Instance; When the Scriptures affirm Hypocrisy to be a Sin so hateful to God, that he cannot bear it, may we rationally infer, that there be some other Sins of that Nature, that his infinite Purity can bear with them? Is it not more clear to affirm, That by this Expression, the Scriptures only manifest the Grievousness of this Sin of Hypocrisy, but no ways tacitly affirm, that God can endure and bear with other Sins? So that according to the Way of the Scriptures themselves, we may say; that our Saviour in these Words, only aggravates the Odiousness of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, shewing it shall never be forgiven, but no ways advises us, that there are other Sins which may be forgiven, if not in this, yet in the World to come. As to what the Cardinal alledges of the Impropriety of this Expression, *Neither in this World, nor in the World to come*; if there were no Remission in the World to come, it is impertinent, and to no purpose,

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since those Words do fully answer the Purpose of our Saviour, and with the greater Vehemency deny all Remission whatever to that Sin: And although it would be improper to say, I will marry neither in this World, neither in the World to come, because there is no such Thing as marrying, and giving in Marriage there; yet it doth not follow, that it must be as improper to say, It shall neither be remitted in this World, neither in the World to come, because, though there is no Remission for Sins not remitted in this World, yet all Remission is said to be confirmed there, and the Scriptures usually acquaint us our final Doom and Sentence shall be pronounced at the Judgment-Seat of Christ. Thirdly, That this Text is no Advantage to the Popish Purgatory is further clear, because it treats of the Remission itself of Sin, not Satisfaction for some light Failures, which is the chiefest Remission of their Purgatory. All that the Cardinal hath to reply here, is no more but this, that in Purgatory there is also a Remission of Venial Faults. To which I answer, That Venial Sins, as they call them, have nothing to do with this Place; for since they are the most mortal Sins and Blasphemies, to which our Lord here compares the Sin against the Holy Ghost, declaring, that though They might be forgiven, yet This should not, neither in this, nor in the World to come; must it not follow, that if any Remission in the World to come, be to be inferred from these Words of our Lord, it must certainly be a Remission of mortal Sins? and so the Cardinal must be as far to seek as ever for the Establishment of his Purgatory, since from thence they profess all mortal Sins excluded, so as that there is no Remission at all for them there. The Cardinal makes an Offer
of

of a Return to this, but it is such a one, as may quite end the Controversy of a Purgatory from this Text; for he says, our Saviour spake here of a compleat and perfect Remission, which comprehends the Remission both of the Sin and the Punishment, in which manner the most grievous Sins are said to be remitted in another World, for this Reason, because their Remission is compleated there. But first, What's all this to Venial Sins, or the Remission had in Purgatory, which, according to his own Principles, hath nothing to do with grievous Sinners? Again, how can the Completion or Perfection of all Remission belong to Purgatory, when the Scriptures every where refer it to the Last Judgment by Christ? Secondly, If the most grievous Sins are said to be remitted in the other World, for this Reason, because their Remission is compleated there, then why may not this Expression, *shall be forgiven neither in this World, neither in the World to come*, signify one and the same Remission; the one, *viz.* That *in the World to come*, being only a Confirmation and Completion of the other? Thirdly, If the Remission *in the World to come*, be the same with *that in this Life*, only in a higher and more comprehensive Perfection compleating it, then how can these Words infer a third State for Remission of such Sins as are no ways remitted in this World. Indeed, according to the Doctrine of Christianity, though not according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Remission of the Punishment always accompanies the Remission of the Sin, but yet it will not follow, that this Text of Scripture which treateth of the Remission of Sins only, is agreeable or applicable to, much less demonstrative of their Purgatory, wherein they pretend to a

ART. XXII. Remission of Punishment, and some Penal Satisfactions for such Sins as are already remitted in this World. And thus I think, by the Help of the Cardinal, we have sufficiently disappointed them of the Assistance of this Text in the Support of their Purgatory.

THE next Place which I am to consider, is 1 Cor. iii. 15. *shall be saved so as by Fire.* The Cardinal tells us this is one of the obscurest, but yet most profitable Texts; so illustriously manifest is their Cause in the Scriptures, that its highest Advantages are the deepest Obscurities, and its clearest Light treasured up in the profoundest Darknes. He also tells us, it is reckoned by St. *Augustine* amongst those difficult Sentences which St. *Peter* speaks of, which many wrest to their own Destruction; and therefore we may all conclude, what an incomparable Bottom it must be whereon to found an Article of Faith. If we consider the Circumstances of the whole Place, we shall find them in no respect suiting with their *Purgatory*: For Verse the 13th, the Apostle tells us, the Fire here spoken of, is that whereby every Man's Work shall be made manifest, and therefore, consequently, that all Men, both Bad and Good, both Apostles and others, shall pass through the Trial and Examination of that Fire here mentioned; which agrees not with their Notion of Purgatory, from which Apostles and Saints are wholly to be exempted. 2. As the Examination of this Fire extends itself to all Men, so is its Force and Operation said to exert itself upon the Works, not the Persons of every Man, as in the latter Part of the 13th Verse, *The Fire shall try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is*; and so again, Verse 14, 15. *If any Man's Work abideth, or if any Man's Work shall be*

be burnt. Whereas the Fire of their Purgatory hath nothing to do with the Works of Men, which are supposed to be accepted before an Entrance therein, but wholly exerciseth its Sting and Punishment upon the very Souls of Men.

3. If we consider the Day which shall thus declare our Works, we shall perceive that can no ways agree with their *Chimerical Purgatory*: For though the Text tells us it shall be revealed in Fire, yet some interpret this Revelation by Fire, of the final Conflagration of the World; others of such a one as shall flame out at the Day of God's final Judgment; the last of which *Bellarmino* acknowledges to be the general Opinion of the Fathers, and also admits of, and allows it for the most true *. Now how from this Fire which shall be revealed at the Day of Judgment, we may infer a present Fire purging and cleansing the Souls of Men immediately after their Departure out of this Life, I confess I want the Cardinal's Dexterity to make out? I suppose, according to their own Principles, the Fire of *Purgatory* shall be no more then (whatever it is now) at that last Judgment; and therefore, how this Description or Insinuation of that examining and determining Flame which shall thus search and prove the Works of all Men then, can declare or manifest to us this purging Fire at present, out of which Millions shall have escaped before, and into which, perhaps, Millions shall never enter, *viz.* all remaining here in the Flesh at that terrible Day of the Lord, some of the Cardinal's Friends would do well to explain to us. As to all the Particulars of this Text, such as are Foundation, Builders, Gold, Silver, Wood, Hay, Stubble, nay the

* Bell. de Purg. lib. 1.

Fire which shall try every Man's Work, what Sort it is, the Cardinal with Protestants interprets to have an improper and metaphorical Meaning, and then what Agreement can this Clause bear to the rest, if taken properly, and in its literal Signification? *Bellarmino* confesses one or two apparent Equivocations in his own Exposition, understanding, *whose Works the Fire shall try*, of a metaphorical and figurative Fire; *shall be saved so as by Fire*, of a material and afflicting Fire: But it is the Incoherence of his own imaginary Doctrines, not any Variation in the Text itself, which forced and obliged him thereunto: For if we understand the Whole in a metaphorical Way, we do no Violence, but altogether clear up the Apostle's Meaning; for as to that Clause, *ὡς διὰ πυρός*, *so as by Fire*, upon which all his Strefs depends, this certainly clearly manifests that Fire is here mentioned only Figuratively, or by way of Likeness or Resemblance; as who should say, his Works shall perish in the Fire, but the Workman shall escape, yet with that Difficulty and Hazard, as if that examining Fire had got hold on, and been ready to devour him; now the Cardinal acknowledges that examining Fire to be metaphorical: Indeed the Apostle seems carefully to have obviated the Impropriety of the proper Acceptation of the Word Fire, here, by the Interposition of that Particle (*ὡς*); nor can the Grammatical Construction any ways help out the Cardinal's Imagination of such a material Fire, which by its Pains and Tortures, should actually save and restore the Person tortured therein, unto Life. As for what the Cardinal alledges from those Words, *If any Man's Work shall be burnt, he shall suffer Loss*, infer-

ring, that it meaneth that such a Person shall receive a Punishment: Though a Loss and Punishment are very different Things; the one being inflicted on us by another, the other many times the Effect of a Man's Personal Negligence and Error; yet if we agree with the Cardinal in this *Punctilio*, it will not follow, that the Punishment referred to here, must necessarily be a Punishment by Fire: Is not the Loss of all his Labours, and the Experiencing them to be rather Works of Damnation than leading to a Reward, a very heavy Punishment? As for any other, there is not the least Colour or Pretence from the Words.

THE most material Objection I find made to this Explication, is this, That if the Words, *so as by Fire*, are not to be understood of a material and tormenting Fire; then those Builders, who are said to Build, Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones, may as properly be said to escape *so as by Fire*, as the Raisers up of Wood, Hay, and Stubble; and so that Distinction which the Apostle plainly suggests to be between them, insignificant, and to no purpose. But this is easily removed, if we observe, that though they are all subject to this Fire of Trial and Examination, yet they are not all obnoxious to the like Hazard and Danger by it; for though it consumes and destroys the one (*viz.* the Wood, Hay, and Stubble) yet it does but illustrate and make more manifest the Worth and Perfections of the other, *viz.* the Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones. As I suppose two Men of unequal Qualifications, may run through the same Examination, though the one with no Hazard, but rather Advantage to his Reputation: So

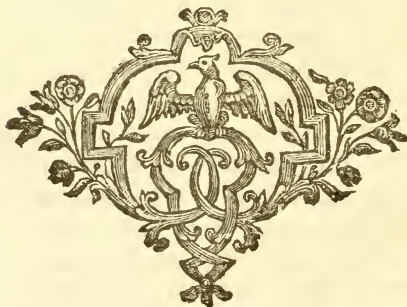
that as Wood, Hay, and Stubble, which refer to such false and unwarrantable Doctrines as shall be accounted for at the fiery Examination of God's fiercest Judgment, bear no relation at all to Venial Sins, which a small Penance, perhaps a supernumerary *Ave Maria* may wipe off in this Life, or at most a few Pangs in *Purgatory*, clear us from, long before that terrible Day, which shall declare our Works: So is the Fire here mentioned to try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is, far from the Nature of their *Purgatory* Scorplings, because they are only to purge and satisfy, these to examine and make trial; in a Word, the one is a *Probatory*, the other a *Purgatory Fire*. There are those, indeed, which interpret this Fire of those Tribulations and Afflictions wherewith God often examines our Works and Doctrines in this Life, particularly St. *Augustine*, and *Gregory the Great*, whose Dreams and Delusions, as hath been said before, seem to have given the first Occasion to this *Chimerical Purgatory*; but I shall not determine the Time when God will exercise and examine us with this fiery Trial, it being sufficient to shew, that the Nature of this examining Fire, let it happen when it will, is no ways suitable to that imaginary one, fancied to be now burning in *Purgatory*, the Property of that being to try Works, but the Efficacy of this to afflict and punish Souls. And that this Place is thus to be understood Metaphorically, we might confirm by divers of their own Expositors: Besides many pressing Arguments urged by *Erasmus* *, to evince that

* *Erasmus in locum. Suarez, tom. 4. in Thom. disput. 45. §. 1. numb. 25. Ibid. §. 1. numb. 28.*

it makes neither for Venial Sins, nor a Purgatory, for which *Bellarmino* declares it so profitable. *Suarez* cites *Sedulius*, *Lyranus*, *Cajetan*, and others, interpreting it almost in our very Words, though, indeed, he himself will have the whole Place understood of a proper and material Fire; but he brings no better Inducements to determine us on his Side, than *Bellarmino* offers to make out, that though Fire in one Part of the Text must be meant Allegorically, yet *so as by Fire*, must necessarily be taken in a literal and proper Meaning: Indeed, the Instance by which the Cardinal undertakes to make it appear to us, that it was the Manner and Custom of *St. Paul*, thus to use the same Word in divers Senses in the same Sentence, is most remarkable, and does abundantly evince, that the Cardinal's Wit was more put to it to make out this Point, than his Conscience concerned for laying down the Truth: The Text appealed to is this, *He hath made him Sin for us, who knew no Sin*; here the Word *Sin* is to be taken in as different an Acceptation as the Word *Fire* in the former Place: What? was he made *Mortal Sin*, who knew only *Venial Sins*, or how is *Sin* here taken in a different Meaning? Indeed, *to be made Sin*, and *to know Sin*, have different Meanings, but then they are also different Sentences; but as for the Word *Sin*, that imports the very same in relation to them both: As to his being *made Sin*, it means no other than that that spotless Lamb was sent by God to be the Sacrifice for our Mortal Sins; and the Punishment he underwent shews, that the Sins imputed to him, or for which in our Stead he accounted, were those very Sins which he knew not, that is, which he had not been Personally concerned in committing. What

Agree-

Agreement is there here with Sins different, such as *Mortal* and *Venial*, with a Resemblance of a metaphorical and proper Fire? Or because we meet the one Expression, what Countenance can it give to the other Inference and Deduction; they were the same mortal Transgressions which the Apostle speaks of in the one Place, and it was no doubt one and the same metaphorical Fire which he represents and alludes to in the other: But thus it is when Men will appeal to Scripture for the Confirmation of such Doctrines as differ from the very Spirit and Letter of the Scriptures, that they are compelled to such irrational and unconcluding Misapplications.





ARTICLE XXIII.

Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of Publick Preaching, or Ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent, to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called, and sent, which be chosen and called to this Work by Men who have Publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers unto the Lord's Vineyard.

ART. XXIII.

The EXPOSITION.



THE Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, speaking of the Priesthood, says, *Chap. v. ver. 4. No Man taketh this Honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* If it be said that this Text is not applicable to the Christian Dispensation, the very next Verse confutes the Objection: *So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High-Priest, but he*
that

The Necessity of Ordination.

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that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee. And *Acts xx. 28.* St. Paul addresses himself to the Elders of the Churches of *Miletus* and *Ephesus* thus: *Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the Flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers.* And since the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments are the *Ambassadors of Christ*, *2 Cor. v. 20. Ministers of God, Chap. vi. ver. 4.* Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God; it follows, that they ought to receive their Commission from God, and to be sent by him. For should any Man take upon him the Character of an Ambassador to an Earthly Prince, should he offer Terms of Peace to Enemies, pretend to naturalize Strangers, and grant Pardons without a Commission from his Sovereign; as all his Acts would be null and void, so he would be highly criminal, and liable to the severest Punishment.

THE Commission I am pleading for is a Mediate or Ordinary one. For as God Almighty gave Authority to *Aaron*, to his Sons, and to the *Levites*, to be his Ministers, in an immediate or extraordinary Manner, and order'd that their several Offices should descend in a direct Line, which made those who succeeded them as truly and properly Ministers of God as themselves, as appears from *Heb. v. 4.* which I have had Occasion to mention already: So under the Christian Dispensation, since the immediate or extraordinary Call to the Ministry, which the Apostles and the rest of Christ's first Ministers had, no Man is called or ordained to the Ministry in this Manner, but proper Persons are entrusted by God to call and send others, or to set them apart for the Ministry of Religion.

Religion. Thus the Apostles *Barnabas* and *Paul* are said to ordain Elders in the Churches of *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, *Acts* xiv. 22, 23. And those that were ordained by the Apostles did likewise, as appears from the concurrent Voices of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, who have recorded what hath been done in the Church since the Time of the Apostles. And that we are neither wrong as to our making a Distinction betwixt the Clergy and Laity, nor as to our having the three Orders in our Ministry of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, is plain from the Words of *St. Clemens* of *Rome*, in which, as *S. Jerom* hath done after him, he compares them to the three Orders of High-Priest, Priest, and *Levite*, among the *Jews*. The High-Priest, saith he, hath his proper Ministry allotted him, the Priests have their proper Place assigned them, and the *Levites* have likewise their proper Services appointed them. The Layman is to perform such Things as belong to Laymen. Let every one of you, my Brethren, in his proper Place and Station, glorify God, keeping a good Conscience, and taking Care with all Gravity, not to transgress the Rule which sets Bounds to your Duty or Office. *

THE Words going before this Sentence, saith *Mr. Lowth*, wherein *Clemens* exhorts them, *viz.* the *Corinthians*, to perform God's Service in an orderly Manner, and at set Times and Seasons, and by such Persons whom he hath appointed; and the Application in the last Sentence, shews, that the Writer of that Epistle

* *Ad Cor. cap. 40, 41.*

ART. XXIII. applies himself to the several Ranks or Orders of Men in the Church; though he calls the several Orders of the Clergy by the several Titles of the *Jewish* Priesthood, as many of the ancient Writers do. †

Mr. NORMAN hath replied to this Argument of Mr. *Lowth's*, in the 49th Page of his Defence of his Remarks on Mr. *Lowth's* Sermon, and what he saith to it is, That he is apt to believe, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when he translated the Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, did not see That in these Words which is so plain to the Rector of *Petersfield*, because upon perusing the Index of that Translation, he finds that Great Prelate mentions the several Places in that Work, in which he thought it appeared, that Bishops in the Primitive Church were the same as with us; but takes no Notice of the Passage which Mr. *Lowth* hath cited, nor so much as of one in all *Clemens's* Epistles. My Answer is, 1. That the Collecting of an Index for a Book is a very tedious and disagreeable Undertaking, so that 'tis no wonder if it be not always performed with all the Exactness that the Nature of the Thing will possibly admit of. And I am apt to think, this is the Reason why his Grace of *Canterbury* did not take Notice of this Passage in his Index, as he did those which Mr. *Norman* makes mention of, except he was of Opinion, as I also am, that there's no Occasion for so much Exactness, where the several Particulars contained in the Book which the Index is affixed to, are again and again referred to. 2. That supposing the

† Answer to Mr. *Norman*, p. 25.

Archbishop's Opinion to be as Mr. *Norman* is apt to think, though I heartily join with him in those just Encomiums which he bestows upon this Great Prelate, yet I am certain, that his Grace does not expect us to pay a greater Deference, even to his declared and avowed Opinion, than to that of so many Great and Learned Writers, who have quoted this Passage to the same Purpose that Mr. *Lowth* hath. 3. That if the Archbishop's Opinion, in case it should appear to be against us as to this Passage, should in Mr. *Norman's* Judgment be Decisive in a Dispute betwixt Mr. *Lowth* and *Him*, I hope it is but Modest to expect, that his Grace should have as much Authority as a Moderator betwixt them with relation to the Epistles of St. *Ignatius*. And lastly, That Mr. *Norman* surprizes us exceedingly, by intimating that he cannot but wonder, that this Passage seemed to Mr. *Lowth* to be so very plain for Primitive Episcopacy, when he cannot be ignorant, if he hath behaved himself in this Controversy as he ought, that is, if he hath read carefully on both Sides, that hardly any Episcopal Writer that hath recourse to the Writings of the Fathers for the Establishment of his Scheme, hath missed taking Notice of it, or mentioned it with less Assurance of its being for his Purpose than Mr. *Lowth* hath.

HAVING done with the Opinion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that is, what Mr. *Norman* very vainly, and upon so trifling a Foundation, fancies to be his Opinion; he proceeds in the next Place to give us his own, which he does in the following Words: "And for my Part, after having read the Words abovementioned, and the preceding Part of the Chapter over
" and

ART. XXIII.



“ and over, I can’t see that the venerable Father
 “ designed any thing more than to recommend
 “ Order and Regularity in the Church ; that
 “ the Service of God might be performed with a
 “ proper Decorum, and that there might be no
 “ Confusion in the Worship, or among the Wor-
 “ shippers ; and therefore he mentions the Ex-
 “ actness with which the Solemnities of Religion
 “ were managed under the *Jewish* Oeconomy,
 “ as an Instance or Example of good Order,
 “ but not as a Model according to which
 “ Christian Churches were to be constituted.”

—What I have to say to this is, that in my
 Opinion, for I hope I may have the Liberty of
 giving one as well as Mr. *Norman*, Mr. *Norman*’s
 Gloss upon this Passage, is artful, strained, and
 laboured ; and that Mr. *Lowth*’s is plain, easy,
 and natural, and therefore the most probable.
 I cannot forbear remarking in this Place, that if
 Mr. *Norman* hath hit upon the right Sense of
 the Passage which is now under our Considera-
 tion, this venerable Father does not seem to me
 to be such an Enemy to the Imposition of a few
 decent Ceremonies and Circumstances, for the
 Sake of Order and Regularity, as Mr. *Norman*
 and his Brethren are. I know Mr. *Norman* will
 distinguish upon me, and let me know that there
 is, in his Opinion, a wide Difference betwixt
 the Church of *England*’s taking it upon her to
 make Canons and Rubricks, and the Dissenters
 appointing the Time and Place for Religious
 Worship, and requiring that the Habit of their
 Ministers be *grave* and *comely*, and that Men
 should either *stand* or *kneel* in Time of Prayer,
 which he acknowledges they do in the 115th
 Page of the Performance I am now concerned
 with, but all that I shall ever be able to learn
 from him, will not convince me, or any other
 unpre-

unprejudiced Person, but that the Quarrel betwixt us is in reality only this, whether we or they shall have the Power of prescribing Rules for Decency and Order in the Publick Worship. But to return from this Digression, Mr. *Norman*, after he hath told us what he is *apt to believe* the Archbishop thought of this Passage, and what his own Opinion is, begins to offer at an Argument — “ And that he had no such Intention as Mr. *Lowth* supposes, may appear from this ; that when he speaks of the Officers of the Church, he mentions no more than *Bishops* and *Deacons*.” Thus, discoursing of the Apostles and their Mission, says he, Preaching through Countries and Cities, and proving by the Spirit, the first Fruits of their Conversions, they appointed out of them *Bishops* and *Deacons* over such as should afterwards believe. And because we are sure that the Apostles ordained Elders in the Churches, seeing *Clemens* does not mention these separately from *Bishops*, when he gives an Account of the Officers which the Apostles instituted ; it is very plain, that by *Bishops* here, he means *Presbyters*, or the *Pastors* of Churches ; and that he had no Notion of an Order *superior* to them.” I very readily yield to the first Part of this Remark, but I can by no means agree to the second. I believe, as well as Mr. *Norman*, that the *Bishops* here spoken of, are no more than *Presbyters*, but yet it will not follow, that this Father had no Notion of an Order superior to them. He doth not say, that these Officers, or any of them, were the Supreme Governors of those Churches where they were placed ; and, indeed, it appears from the Scriptures themselves, that Supremacy of Power over all the Apostolical

ART. XXIII. Churches, for the greatest Part at least of the Apostles Lives, was reserved in their own Hands, by which St. Paul so justly imputed to himself *the Care of all the Churches*, 2 Cor. xi. 28. ; and his Commands, Censures, and peremptory Precepts (so visible in most of his Epistles to them) do evidently prove the same ; and therefore, whatever Assistants they were to the Apostles, by their Ministry and Regulation of the Churches under them, they could not be Ecclesiastical Officers invested with a Plenitude of Church Power ; for Mr. Norman may understand, if he pleases, that we are very far from denying all Church Power to Presbyters. We know very well, that St. Paul himself says, that a Bishop, that is, such an one as we now call a Presbyter (for so the Word signifies in this Place) cannot *take care of the Church of God*, except *he know how to rule his own House*, 1 Tim. iii. 5. And that *the Elders that rule well, should be counted worthy of double Honour*, chap. v. 17. And therefore his alleging, 1 Cor. v. 12. — *Do not ye judge those that are within ?* as an Argument to prove that St. Paul had nothing to do with the ordinary governing Power of the Church of *Corinth*, is not only impertinent, but surprizingly so : And from hence we may furnish Mr. Norman with sufficient Means to get over the Difficulty which the Apostle's Absence from a particular Church, for a Time, hath occasioned. If this will not do in Mr. Norman's Opinion, let me ask him how 'tis possible for the King of *England*, to be in Possession of the ordinary governing Power of these Kingdoms, at the same Time that he is visiting his Dominions in *Germany* ? Or whether the Authority which is executed by the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, be not a Proof that he hath nothing

thing to do with the Government at all? Or if Mr. *Norman* will not be satisfied without Proof that the Apostles had an extraordinary Power of discerning, when there was an Occasion for it, I beg leave to recommend to his most serious Consideration, those Words of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. v. 3. *For I verily, as absent in Body, but present in Spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this Deed.* What Mr. *Norman* means by talking of St. *Paul's* having taking his leave of the City of *Corinth*, I do not understand, since he so frequently mentions his coming thither again, in the latter End of his Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and that too, in order to correct and remove the very great Disorders that were among them. And if the Power which he was to exercise upon this sad Occasion was extraordinary Power, let me ask, Why all Church Power which we read of in the *New Testament*, is not looked upon as Extraordinary? and how it appears, that this Gentleman hath any greater ordinary Authority over his own Congregation, than St. *Paul* had over the Church of *Corinth*? He is pleased indeed to tell us, that the Authority which the Apostle had over that Church was Extraordinary, and not that of an ordinary Church Governor, dogmatically enough: But, alas! he creeps off, when he comes to support it, with saying, that Doctor *Whitby* thinks his saying, *He had in a Readiness to revenge all Disobedience, &c.* 2 Cor. x. 6. to be the Authority peculiar to the Apostles, of inflicting corporal Punishments on refractory Persons, and delivering them up to Satan; and that Mr. *Lowth* himself, for which he thanks him heartily, calls it Apostolical Power, to the utter Subversion of his own Hypothesis. And cannot Mr. *Norman*

perceive a wide Distinction betwixt un Authority, and the Means to keep up the Reverence that is due to it? For that the Doctor is speaking of the latter only, and not of the former, at least as the Words are here quoted, is as obvious as may be. But were Dr. *Whitby* very clearly of Mr. *Norman's* Opinion, 'tis very well known that he was a Man of a very wavering Judgment, a very Free-Thinker, and as bold a Writer, and a Patronizer of so many wild, heterodox, and heretical Notions, that his *Ipse dixit*, or mere *Say-so*, is so far from passing with us of the Church of *England*, in lieu of good Reasoning, that I am sure the Majority of us are very sorry that any Person of such un-found Principles, should be unsincere enough to herd among us, and profess himself a Member of our Communion, for no other Reason than to enjoy such Preferments as would have served to encourage or reward a more honest and deserving Person than himself, or any of the same Stamp. As to Mr. *Lowth*, I dare swear for him, and I think it is evident enough in all Conscience from his Writings, that he believes the Apostles had Successors, properly so called, as to all Parts of their Office, except the Power of working Miracles; and that by *Apostolical Power*, he means no more than he now does by *Episcopal Power*; and how his calling it by this Name does subvert his Hypothesis, I profess I cannot see, and believe I never shall. Another Argument which Mr. *Lowth* makes use of, to shew that *St. Paul* took upon him the Supreme Government of the Church of *Corinth*, is his calling himself their *Father*, or the Person that converted them to the Christian Faith, 1 *Cor.* iv. 15. And who but our Author, saith Mr. *Norman*, would have inferred from this, that

St. Paul

St. Paul had the ordinary Government of that Church in his own Hands for Years after he took his leave of it? At this rate he goes on further, with a little common Banter and Flourish, as if it were not plain to a Demonstration, that the Apostle makes good his Claim to the Government of that Church from this Consideration, and that in this very Chapter; and but a Verse or two lower, he talks of coming to them again, and of visiting them, if Occasion were, with a Rod. I shall not trifle so far as to dispute, whether the Apostle's Rod was any thing like the Lash of the Spiritual Court which Mr. Norman is so merry with; or like the Ecclesiastical Tyranny of the *Scottish Kirk*; the Parochial Papacy of the Independents, or the several Courts of Inquisition among the Presbyterians: I shall only observe, that 2 Cor. xiii. 1. he talks of proceeding like an ordinary Church Governor — *In the Mouth of two or three Witnesses shall every Word be established.* If Mr. Norman says, that this Argument is no Proof that the Power which St. Paul intended to exercise was ordinary Power, I must put him upon proving, that the Power which the Presbyters are said to exercise, was ordinary Power; for I am sure I have proved the one, as well as he hath proved the other, and I am content to let the ordinary Power of the Apostle, and that of the Presbyters of *Corinth*, stand and fall together, as I am sure they must. If Mr. Norman shall think fit to engage in this Argument afresh, I should be glad to know when it was that the Apostle took his Leave of the *Corinthians*: I mean his *final Leave*, or else I shall be of Opinion that he does nothing.

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BUT whatever can be said to this Purpose, and whatever Difficulties this Gentleman may be drove to, I know he will not look on himself to be answered, except we remove a Difficulty which he throws in Mr. *Lowth's* way on account of the Use which we make of 2 *Cor.* xi. 28. For if we suppose that the Care of all the Churches lay upon St. *Paul*, as that Care signifies the ordinary Government of those Churches, he can't, he says, reconcile it with the Notion of St. *James's* being made Bishop, or Chief Governor of the Church of *Jerusalem*, which according to Mr. *Lowth*, must be supposed to be done long before the Writing of the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

Mr. *NORMAN* needs not to be told, that there are very strong Figures made use of in the Style both of the *Old* and *New Testament*; and therefore, I shall only endeavour to shew him, that the Words *all the Churches*, are not to be understood in a strict and rigid Sense, but of some particular Churches only, which belonged to St. *Paul's* Jurisdiction. Thus *Gal.* ii. 7. He tells us, *That the Gospel of the Uncircumcision was committed unto him, as the Gospel of the Circumcision was unto Peter.* And ver. 9. *That when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be Pillars, perceived the Grace that was given to him, they gave to him and Barnabas the Right Hands of Fellowship, that they should go unto the Heathen, and they, viz. James, Cephas, and John, unto the Circumcision.* And 2 *Cor.* x. 13. &c. *We will not boast of Things, saith he, without our Measure, but according to the Measure of the Rule which God hath distributed to us, a Measure to reach even unto you. For we stretch not ourselves*

selves beyond our Measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also, in Preaching the Gospel of Christ: Not boasting of Things without our Measure, that is, of other Mens Labours, but having Hope when your Faith is increased that we shall be enlarged by you according to our Rule abundantly, To preach the Gospel in the Regions beyond you, and not to boast in another Man's Line of Things made ready to our Hands. From hence it appears, that the Churches, the Care of which lay upon *St. Paul*, were some of the Uncircumcision, and among these, such as had been converted to Christianity by himself. And this Reasoning may, I hope, be looked upon as sufficient to reconcile the seeming Inconsistency of an Apostle's confining himself to a particular District, with the Commission given to them in General, which was to teach and baptize all Nations. By Virtue of this Commission, they were made Ministers of the Catholick Church, their Ministerial Acts were valid where-ever exercised, but yet it was faithfully executed, though the Care of one Part of the World was committed to one Apostle, and the Care of another to another. Let me likewise observe, that an Apostle, is not by the Tenor of this Commission, to be constantly in a wandering Condition, but only to take Care to teach and baptize in that District to which his own Choice, or God's Providence should determine him.

WHAT *Mr. Norman* offers further to take off the Force of this Passage out of *Clemens Romanus*, is, " That the Epistle, of which it is
 " a Part, was written more than twenty Years
 " after the Deaths of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as
 " *Mr. Withers* hath made appear to be highly
 H b 4 " pro-

“ probable from *Eusebius* himself, and that
 “ there was confessedly no *Diocesan Bishop* in
 “ the Church of *Corinth* at that Time.” As to
 what Mr. *Lowth* saith upon this Head, “ That
 “ he looks upon the Conjecture of the Learned
 “ Dr. *Maurice* to be very probable, who hath
 “ brought several Reasons to prove, that the
 “ See of *Corinth* being vacant by the Death of
 “ the *Bishop*, as it is most likely, was the Occa-
 “ sion of *Clemens’s* writing of that Epistle to
 “ them; and that the Contention so much
 “ reproved there, was about chusing another
 “ *Bishop* in the Room of the Deceased.” As to
 this, I say, Mr. *Norman* insists upon Proof, and
 will not be determined by a Conjecture: Well
 then, so be it; but I must be so free as to tell
 him, that I shall take the Liberty to deal by
 Mr. *Withers’s* highly probable, as he does by
 Dr. *Maurice’s* very probable, and so pass on to
 the Merits of the Cause.

Mr. *NORMAN’S* whole Strength, as to the
 main Thing in Debate, for I shall not trouble
 myself about the Date of *Clemens’s* Epistle,
 depends upon these two Concessions, which he
 shall have as freely from me as from the Learned
 Gentleman he hath to do with. 1. That at the
 Writing of this Epistle there was no *Diocesan*
Bishop in the Church of *Corinth*. 2. That we can
 find no mention of the Church of *Corinth* in the
 antient Writers, from the Time of the Writing
 that Epistle, ’till *Dionysius* late *Bishop* of that
 Church, which was about the Middle of the
 Second Century. And may not all this be true,
 and yet the Consequence which Mr. *Norman*
 draws from it be, as Mr. *Lowth* says it is, doubt-
 ful and precarious? If a *Bishoprick* be void at
 this or that particular Time, is it a Proof that it
 was

was never filled? And is it not very diverting, that a Man should conceive the least hopes of advantaging his Cause from the bare Silence of the antient Writers of the Church, which is in reality neither for or against him? But thus it happens, for he tells Mr. *Lowth*, that should he assert that the Church of *Corinth* was without such an Episcopal Government, as Mr. *Lowth* speaks of, a great while longer than twenty or thirty Years after the Deaths of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, he might with Safety challenge him to disprove him, because of the latter of those Concessions before mentioned. Nevertheless I hope this brisk Challenge may not be altogether so dangerous to the Cause of Episcopacy, as the Giver of it may imagine. If notwithstanding the Effects of Time, and Accidents of all kinds during the Space of so many hundred Years, and the almost utter Extirpation of Christianity, in some Parts of the World where it once flourished, an exact and authentick List or Catalogue of such Bishops as were first ordained by the Apostles, together with their Successors ever since, could be procured, it would, without doubt, be a very useful and entertaining Thing: But at this Distance of Time it is utterly impossible to gratify the World with any such Curiosity, whatever Pains should be taken about it. Yet there are some scattered Remains and Fragments to be collected out of the antient Writers, which one would think should sufficiently convince any reasonable Man, that the Apostles settled Bishops in all Churches upon their first Plantation. As to the Churches of *Rome*, *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Smyrna*, *Hieropolis*, *Ephesus*, *Crete*, *Athens*, and *Philippi*, the Matter is beyond Dispute; and though we cannot produce particular Vouchers for some other

par-

particular Churches, yet *Tertullian's* Challenge to the *Hereticks* of his Time, supplies the Place of them. Let them shew us faith he, an Original of their Churches, and give us a Catalogue of their Bishops, in an exact Succession, from first to last, whereby it may appear, that their first Bishops had either some Apostle, or some Apostolical Man, living in the Time of the Apostles, for his Author or immediate Predecessor. For thus it is that Apostolical Churches make their Reckoning. The Church of *Smyrna* counts up to *Polycarp* ordained by St. *John*. The Church of *Rome* to *Clemens* ordained by St. *Peter*; and so all other Churches in like manner exhibit their first Bishops ordained by the Apostles, by whom the Apostolical Seed was propagated and conveyed to others*. This implies, that the Apostles, as they founded Churches, settled Bishops in them, and that this might be proved from the Records and Archives of every Church, the most of which were probably then remaining, when *Tertullian* made this Challenge, and appealed to these Original Records in Behalf of the *Catholick Church*; for *Tertullian*, we all know, was a Writer of the Second Century. Now I think I may fairly argue, that if the Apostles, or Apostolical Men, appointed or begun a Succession of Bishops in all the Churches, they did this in the Church of *Corinth* as well as others. It may not be amiss to let the Reader have the Objection of Dr. *Calamy* upon this Head, together with the present Bishop of *Salisbury's* Answer to it, in the 350th Page of his Lordship's Book against that Writer.

* Tertul. de Præscript. Adver. Hæres.

“ THE Testimony of the antient Writers concerning Episcopacy, saith the Doctor, cannot reasonably be received, because Ecclesiastical Historians have not given us any plain and certain Accounts of the first Plantation of Churches; or any true Catalogues of Bishops succeeding one another in them.”

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But in Answer to this saith the Bishop,

I. “ THOUGH *Eusebius* be the first professed Ecclesiastical Historian, yet he is far in Distance of Time from the first Writers, on whose Testimony the Cause of Episcopacy is founded: So that what can it signify to alledge, that *Eusebius* and his Contemporaries, or that *Baronius* and *Dr. Hammond*, cannot furnish out just and full Accounts of the Apostles Proceedings: What can this signify, I say, to the Testimony of the Ages preceding *Eusebius*, that *Episcopacy* was the Government of the Church, on which we rely? 2. Supposing we cannot have an exact Account of the first Settlement of particular Churches; of their *Founders*, and of the Line of *Bishops* succeeding in them; this will no more prove that there were no Bishops in them, than the Disputes and Differences about the Succession, and Years of Reigning of the Kings of any Country, will prove that there were no Kings in those Countries. Nay, this will no more prove that there were no Bishops in those Churches, than that there were no Presbyters in them. For if this Argument prove any Thing, it will unfortunately prove too much, viz. that no Churches of Christians were settled any were: It being certainly as conclusive to say, Hi-

“ storians

“storians are obscure and uncertain in their
 “Accounts of the Travels of the Apostles, and
 “the Settlement of particular Churches; there-
 “fore there were no Churches settled by them:
 “as it is to say, they are very uncertain in
 “their Accounts of the Succession of Bishops in
 “particular Churches; therefore there were
 “none. But what wonder is it, that Histo-
 “rians, at some hundred Years Distance, should
 “not be able to furnish out exact Accounts of
 “the particular Circumstances of these Things?
 “Or what Argument can this be in either of
 “these Cases, when it is so certain from other
 “Writers before them, that there were Churches
 “planted by the Apostles, and Bishops settled
 “in these Churches? And if notwithstanding
 “this Objection, we depend upon the Testi-
 “mony of the more antient Writers in *one* Case;
 “so likewise may we in the *other*. 3. The
 “Appeal of the more antient Writers (in their
 “Disputes with Heretical Persons) to the Do-
 “ctrine of the Bishops whom they affirmed to
 “have succeeded one another from the Apo-
 “stles, and this not contradicted by their Ad-
 “versaries, but, as far as appears, acknowledged
 “by all in those Days when the Falshood of it
 “might easily have been detected: This Ap-
 “peal, I say, though it do not support the
 “absolute Necessity of an uninterrupted Succes-
 “sion; yet it proves, that in those early Days
 “it was known and believed without Oppo-
 “sition or Contradiction, that there was such a
 “Succession of Bishops up to the Apostles.
 “And this is a very great Argument for *Epif-*
 “*copacy*, though later Writers have not been
 “able to furnish out complete Catalogues of
 “Bishops.” I have now but a Word or two
 to say further upon this Head, and I have done.



I cannot but observe, that Mr. *Norman*, in endeavouring to get rid of this unlucky Passage in *St. Clement's* Epistle, very artfully and unfairly passes by the strongest Part of Mr. *Lowth's* Argument which follows his Quotation, in order to prove that the Sense which he understood it in was true and genuine — “ The Writer of that Epistle, saith Mr. *Lowth*, applies himself to the several Ranks or Orders of Men in the Church, though he calls the several Orders of the Clergy by the several Titles of the *Jewish* Priesthood, as many of the antient Writers do.” It might not be amiss, since Mr. *Norman* hath been pleased, as it were, to appeal to his Grace of *Canterbury* for the Sense of the Passage in Debate, to put him in Mind, that we have the Great and Learned Bishop *Beveridge* clearly on our Side, together with a Multitude of other Learned Divines, as I have intimated already *; but perhaps it may be more to the Purpose to direct him to the 8th Page of the First Part of the *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church*, &c. a Book after his own Heart. In this Place the Author first of all asserts, that the distinguishing the Church into the Clergy and Laity, is an early Distinction; and then for the Proof of this, he says, that 'tis mentioned by *Clemens Romanus*, and after him by *Origen* and several others. For the Proof of this, he refers in the Margin to this very Passage of *St. Clement*, which we have been discoursing of, and to the Eleventh of *Origen's Homilies upon Jeremiab.* I believe this Writer's Opinion, when it is for Mr. *Norman's* Turn, is as sacred to him, as our

* See that Bishop's Exposition on this Article.

ART. XXIII. most excellent Metropolitan's seeming or declared Opinion can possibly be. Whoever was the Author of this Book, I can never be brought to believe that it was written by that great and good Man who is commonly said to be the Writer of it, because he is in this Place guilty of so mean an Artifice, as is utterly inconsistent with that Impartiality which he professes in his Title Page, and much more with that spotless Integrity so conspicuous in that eminent Person's Character, who, as I said before, is the reputed Author of it.

THE whole Passage, as it is in *St. Clement's* Epistle, without the Application of it, stands thus; Τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδωμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι ἰδίος ὁ τόπος προσέτακται καὶ λευίταις ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπικείνται ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασιν δέδεται. The *English* of which is, as I have said already, — The *High-Priest* hath his proper Ministry allotted him; the *Priests* have their proper Place assigned them; and the *Levites* have their proper Services appointed them. The *Layman* is to perform such Things as belong to *Laymen*.

THE Author of the *Enquiry* quotes it thus; — Τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίῃ ὁ τόπος προσέτακται, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασιν δέδεται. In *English* thus, The *Priests* have their proper Place assigned them. The *Layman* is to perform such Things as belong to *Laymen*.

BY this Artifice, by leaving out *High-Priest* at the Top, and the *Levites* in the Middle, he hath avoided giving us such a Platform of a Church as was not for his Purpose, and seems wilfully to have shut his Eyes against a most glaring

glaring Truth, — That there were in the Primitive Church three distinct Orders among the Clergy, as there are at this Time in the Church of *England*. But, as I shall treat professedly on this under the next Head, I shall leave it at present, having, as I hope, secured *St. Clement's* Vote and Interest for our Side of the Question, and proceed to discourse a little further with those who do not stand disputing whether *Episcoparians* or *Presbyterians* are in the Right with regard to their several Claims in Opposition to each other, but make short Work of it, and roundly assert, that they are both Usurpations, or at best but Human or Political Institutions.

IN a Word therefore, for I think we need not honour these bold and wild Notions with any long Confutation; Since it hath pleased God to declare, *Isaiab* lxvi. 21. That he would *take of the Gentiles for Priests and Levites*: Since the Ministers of the Gospel are compared to the Priests of the Law, *1 Cor.* ix. 13, 14. where they are clearly mentioned as their Successors, and as a particular Order of Men. Since *St. Paul* tells us, that *no Man can preach before he is sent*, *Rom.* x. 15. Since, as it hath been observed before, he and *Barnabas* ordain'd in several Churches. Since, in his First Epistle to *Timothy*, he commands him to *lay Hands suddenly on no Man*; *Chap.* v. 22. Since he reckons up the Qualifications which Men ought to have before they were admitted into Holy Orders, *Chap.* iii. And finally, since he tells *Titus* in his Epistle to him, *Chap.* i. 5, 6. that *for this Cause he left him in Crete, that he should set in Order the Things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as he had appointed him*; and then describes the Qualifications of such as

† should

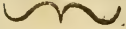
should be ordain'd Elders or Bishops: I cannot but stand amazed at those who assert, that Ordination is not founded upon Scripture, and that all Men are Priests, or Clergymen, as much as they who are commonly call'd so; or that the Difference betwixt the Clergy and Laity depends entirely on the Laws of the Land where they live. And the more am I surprized, because I have never met with any thing, besides a shameless Assurance, a few Witticisms, and a great deal of Scurrility, to support those strange Assertions. As for those who now pretend to be sent immediately by God's Holy Spirit to preach the Gospel, and perform the great Work of the Ministry, since we are not presently to *believe every Spirit, but to try whether it be of God; because many false Prophets are gone out into the World,* 1 John iv. 1. let them convince us that they are, as they pretend to be, Divinely inspired; let them give us the same Testimony that the Prophets gave under the Old Testament Dispensation, and our Saviour and his Apostles gave for the Establishment of the New, *i. e.* work Miracles: And let them prove their Doctrine to be agreeable to the Word of God and right Reason. Without such a Proof as this, every prudent Man must look upon them as frantick Enthusiasts and Deceivers.*

Enthusiasts con-
futed.

* See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book V. §. 77. Potter of Church Government, cap. 4, 5. Mr. Duke's Sermons. Mr. Roberts's Visitation Sermon. Mr. Jackman's Rational and Moral Conduct of Mr. Pierce, &c. Dr. Rogers's Discourse of the Visible and Invisible Church of Christ, Part 1. cap. 3. Tillotson on 1 John iv. 1.

THE next Point to be discussed is the following Question ; Who are they to whom Public Authority is given to call and send Ministers into Christ's Vineyard ? My Answer is, Such as we now call Bishops. In order to make good this Assertion, I lay down these two Propositions ; 1. That there hath always been in the Church of Christ, an Order of Men distinct from and superior to Presbyters. And, 2dly, That the Power of Ordination hath ever incommunicably belong'd to that Order.

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*The Necessity of
Episcopal Ordina-
tion.*

OUR Blessed Saviour at first ordain'd the Twelve Apostles, *that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have Power to heal Sicknesses, and to cast out Devils, Mark iii. 14, 15.* And afterwards, he ordain'd the other Seventy, and sent them out upon a like Errand, *Luke x. 1.* And after his Resurrection, he said to the Apostles, that he would be with them *even unto the End of the World, Matth. xxviii. 20.* And *John xx. 21.* that *as his Father had sent him, so sent he them.* After this, the Apostles ordain'd the seven Deacons, *Acts vi. 6.* Here then we have a clear Account of three Orders of Ecclesiastical Ministers, which answer to our Bishops, Priests, or Presbyters, and Deacons. Without these, *S. Ignatius* tells us, there is no Church.*

IT is not denied, that the Deacons were inferior to the Apostles and Seventy ; but some will have it, that the Office of the Apostles and the Seventy was the same, and their Authority

* *Epist. ad Trall.*

equal. If this be true, why was the Place of *Judas*, who had been one of the Twelve, filled with so much Solemnity? And why was *Matthias* the Man that filled it, who is by the best Historians asserted to be one of the Seventy? *Acts* i. This is affirmed by *Epiphanius* and *St. Jerom*; and *Eusebius* tells us, “ That tho’ there were no particular Catalogue of the Seventy Disciples extant in his Time, for that which was written by *Dorotheus* was not then extant, yet there was a Tradition, that *Barnabas*, *Sosthenes*, *Cephas*, *Thaddeus*, and *James* the Brother of our Lord, were originally of this Number. *Matthias* also, saith he, who was numbered with the Apostles in the Room of the Traytor *Judas*, and the other who had the Honour to be proposed in the same Lot with him, are reported to be of the Number of the Seventy.” *

AFTER this, the Apostles ordain’d others to the same Office. Among these were *Timothy* and *Titus*: For ’tis plain from the Epistles *St. Paul* wrote to them, that they presided over Presbyters: They had Power to enforce them to their Duty, to receive Accusations against them, and judicially to pass Sentence upon them. Such likewise were *St. James*, surnamed the *Just*, and *Epaphroditus*, who were term’d Apostles by all Antiquity. Such, doubtless, were those whom *St. Paul* calls the Apostles of the Churches, and joins with *Titus*, *2 Cor.* viii. 23. And such also were those Angels of the Churches, mentioned in the *Revelations*. These

* *Euseb.* lib. i. cap. 12. See *Scot’s* *Christ. Life.* Part II. Vol. II. Page 390.

are they which *S. Clement* of *Rome* speaks of*. Our Apostles knew, saith he, from our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that there would be a Contention about the Name of Bishop. For this Reason, they resolved to ordain such as were appointed for this Purpose, and to place them in the Pastoral Care; that after their Death, other Men, who were first try'd and approv'd of, might receive their Office.

Mr. NORMAN in the 32d and 3d Pages of his Defence of his *Remarks*, &c. wants to see it proved, 1. That by the *Angels* of the *Seven Churches* in the *Revelations*, single *Governors* are intended. 2. That if they be supposed to be single *Governors*, how it appears that they were not the *Chief Presbyters* of these Churches? And, 3. From what can it be concluded, that they were the *Governors of several Congregations and their Presbyters*, as our *Diocesans* are? The Substance of the last of these Quæries will come in our way hereafter.

As the *Presbyterian* is the elder Brother of the Separation, I shall pay him so much Defe-
rence and Respect as to discourse with him first, and then I shall apply myself to the *Independent*, as the Order of Things and Time requires. I shall therefore at present endeavour to shew,

1. THAT the *Angels* of the *Seven Churches* mentioned in the *Revelations*, were single Persons. 2. That they were Persons of great Authority in those Churches. And, 3. That they were the *Presidents* and *Bishops* of those

* *Ad Cor. cap. 44.*

Churches. And, 1. That they were single Persons, is evident, because they are all along mentioned as such; *the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*, in the Singular Number; *the Angel of the Church of Smyrna*, and so of all the rest; and so every where in the Body of the Epistles they are all along addressed to in the Singular Number; *I know thy Works and thy Labour, nevertheless I have a few Things against thee, remember whence thou art fallen, repent and do thy first Works*, and the like; in all which our Saviour plainly writes to them as to single Persons. It is true, what he writes to them, he writes not only to them *Personally*, but also to the *People* under their *Government and Inspection*; and therefore sometimes he mentions the *People Plurally*; so Chap. 2. ver. 10. *The Devil will cast some of you into Prison*; and so ver. 13. and ver. 23. But this is so far from arguing that these Angels were not single Persons, that it argues the quite contrary; since if they were not, what Reason can there be assigned why our Saviour should not mention them *Plurally*, as well as the *People*? I know it is objected, that the *Angel* of the Church of *Thyatira* is mentioned *Plurally*, Chap. 2. ver. 24. *But unto you I say, and unto the rest of Thyatira*, where by *you*, it is supposed must be meant the *Angel*, and by the rest of *Thyatira*, the *People*. To which I answer, That in the antient Greek Manuscripts, and particularly in that at St. James's, *et*, or *and* is left out, and so the Words run thus, *But unto the rest of Thyatira*, or to the rest of you at *Thyatira*, which is set in Opposition to thote of *Thyatira* that had been seduced unto the Sect of *Jezebel*, and therefore cannot be understood of the *Angel*, who is all along mentioned in the *Singular Number*; wherefore had he not been a *single Person*, no Account

count can be given why he should be mentioned singly, and the rest of *Thyatira* plurally. But then, Secondly, That these single Persons were of great Authority in those Churches, is evident, not only by that honourable Title of *Angel*, that is given them, which plainly shews them to be Persons of Office and Eminence, and that not only by our Saviour's directing his Epistles to *them*, to be communicated by them to their several Churches, but also from that Authority which the Angel of *Ephesus* exercised there, and which the Angels of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira* ought to have exercised, but did not: For as for the Angel of *Ephesus*, he is commended for trying *them* which said they were Apostles, and were not, and discovering them to be Liars, which Words plainly denote a *Juridical Trial* and *Conviction* of some Person or Persons, who pretended to *Apostolical Authority*, but upon Examination were found to be *Cheats* and *Impostors*: And then as for the Angel of the Church of *Pergamus*, he is blamed for having in his Church those that held the Doctrine of *Balaam*, or of the *Nicolaitans*; which plainly shews, that he had *Power* to remedy it, by casting them out of the Church; for if he had not, how could he have been justly blamed for suffering them? And the same may be said of the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, who is also blamed for suffering the Woman *Jezebel*, which was not in his Power to prevent, unless we suppose him to have Authority to eject her and her Followers. But then, Thirdly and Lastly, That these *single* Persons were the *Presidents* or *Bishops* of those Churches, is also evident from the most *Primitive Antiquity*; for so in the Anonymous Tract of *Timothy's Martyrdom*, recorded in *Biblioth. Pat. n. 244.* we are told, that when St. *John* the Apostle returned

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from his Exile in *Patmos*, which was two or three Years after he wrote his *Revelations*, αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτῆ, ἐπὶ τῶν συμπαισθόντων ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται μητροπόλεως, i. e. *That being assisted with the Presence of the Seven Bishops of that Province, he assumed to himself the Government of it.* Now that these *Seven Bishops* were the same with those *Seven Angels* he wrote to in his *Revelations*, is evident, because all those *Seven Churches* in which those *Seven Angels* presided, lay within the Circuit of the *Lydian* or *Proconsular Asia*, of which *Ephesus* was the *Metropolis*; and therefore, who else can we fairly suppose these *Seven Bishops* to be, by whom he governed the Province of *Ephesus*, as the *Seven Angels* of those *Seven Churches*, which were all of them within that Province? And *St. Austin* expressly calls the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, the *Præpositus Ecclesiæ*, i. e. *the Governor of the Church* †; and speaking of those *Seven Angels*, he styles them *Episcopi sive Præpositi Ecclesiarum*, the *Bishops* or *Governors* of the Churches. This he does in his *Commentary on the Revelations*. So also the *Commentaries* under the Name of *St. Ambrose*, referring to these Angels, *1 Cor. c. 11.* expressly tells us, that by those *Angels* he means the *Bishops*; and that they were so, is most undoubtedly evident of the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna* in particular, who could be no other than *St. Polycarp*, who was most certainly made *Bishop* of *Smyrna* some Years before the Writing these *Epistles*, and continued *Bishop* of it a great many Years after; for so *Ignatius*, who was his *Cotemporary*, in his *Epistle* to that Church, styles him *Polycarp*

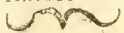
† Ep. 162.

your Bishop, and earnestly exhorts his *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as well as the *Laity*, to be subject to him ; and *Irenæus*, who personally knew him, hath this Passage concerning him : Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαθητεύσας, &c. *Polycarp was not only instructed by the Apostles, and did not only converse with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles that were in Asia* *. And in their *Encyclical Epistle* of his Martyrdom, the whole Church of *Smyrna* stile him Bishop of the *Catholick Church of Smyrna* ||. So also *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, who was *Thirty-eight Years* old when *Polycarp* suffered, tells us, that he was Bishop and Martyr in *Smyrna* †. And the same is attested by *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerom*, and indeed by all Ecclesiastick Antiquity : So that it is a plain Case, that one of these *Angels*, to whom *St. John* writes, was Bishop of the Church whereof he is stiled the *Angel* ; and since one was so, to be sure all the rest were so, especially considering, that very near, if not at the very Time when these Epistles were written, we have certain Accounts that there were *Bishops* actually presiding in these *Seven Churches*. So within twelve Years after these Epistles were written, *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, makes mention of *Onesimus* their Bishop, whom he exhorts them all, as well *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as *Laity*, to obey. That there was also at the same time a Bishop in *Philadelphia*, is abundantly evident from *Ignatius* his Epistle to that Church, though

* Euseb. Hist. l. 4. c. 15.

|| Ibid.

† Ibid. lib 5. cap. 24.



he doth not name him; and about the same Time *Carpus* was Bishop of *Tbyatira*, as the antient Roman Martyrology testifies, and *Segafis* of *Laodicea* †. And *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* §. And as for the Church of *Pergamus*, *Paræus* in his Commentary on Chap. 2. of the *Revelations*, proves out of *Aretas Cæsariensis*, that *Antipas* that faithful Martyr, mentioned Rev. ii. 13. was Bishop of it immediately before the Angel of that Church to whom St. *John* wrote, and that that Angel was one *Gaius*, who, as he proves out of *Clemens*, immediately succeeded *Antipas* in the Episcopal Chair. Since therefore it is apparent, that at the Writing these Epistles to these Seven Churches, there was a Bishop actually presiding in one of them; and that about the same Time there were Bishops presiding also in all the rest, there can be no Colour of Reason to doubt, but that all those Churches had Bishops in them when St. *John* wrote to them; and if so, to be sure those Bishops being the Governors of those Churches, and having the Charge of them committed to them, were those very Angels whom St. *John* wrote to, because he all along writes to them as to those who were the Overseers and Governors of their respective Churches; and if those Angels were Bishops then in them, our Saviour expressly allows and approves of the Episcopal Order, since he not only dignifies them with the Name of Angels, but calls them Stars in his own Right-Hand.

† See *Euseb. Hist. lib. 4. c. 25.*

§ *Ibid.*

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To produce all that is to our Purpose from that Blessed Martyr *S. Ignatius*, were to transcribe his Epistles ; and therefore to avoid the Force of what might be justly concluded from the repeated Testimonies of so early a Father, our Adversaries have with open Mouth declared them spurious : From which injurious Sentence, they have been so triumphantly vindicated by the Learned and Pious Bishop *Pearson*, that I dare say, no Man of Learning for the Future, will so far expose the Reputation of his Understanding and Modesty, as to call them in Question again. However, I shall transcribe a few Passages besides that which I have mentioned already. “ Run ye together, according to the
 “ Will of God ; for even Jesus Christ is sent by
 “ the Will of his Father, as the Bishops appointed
 “ unto the utmost Bounds of the Earth are
 “ by the Will of Jesus Christ †.” “ I exhort
 “ you, that you study to do all Things in a
 “ Divine Concord, your Bishop presiding in the
 “ Place of God, your Presbyters in the Place of
 “ the Apostles, and your Deacons being entrusted
 “ with the Ministry of Jesus Christ. ‡

“ WHEREAS ye are subject to the Bishop
 “ as to Jesus Christ, ye seem to me to live not
 “ after the Manner of Men, but according to
 “ Jesus Christ. Also be ye subject to your
 “ Presbyters, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ :
 “ The Deacons also, as being Ministers of Jesus
 “ Christ, must by all means please all : For
 “ they are not the Ministers of Meat and
 “ Drink, but of the Church of God. || ”

† *Epis. ad Ephes. cap. 3.*

‡ *Epis. ad Magnes. cap. 6.*

|| *Epis. ad Trall. cap. 2.*

BUT

ART. XXIII.

BUT in Opposition to this, our Adversaries urge, that the Words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are Words of the same Signification in Holy Scripture, and that therefore there is no Difference of Order betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter. The first Part of this Argument is true; for after *St. Paul* hath told *Titus* that he left him in *Crete*, that he might ordain Elders in every City, as he had appointed him; he immediately adds, *If any be blameless, the Husband of one Wife, having faithful Children, not accused of Riot, or unruly: For a Bishop must be blameless, &c. Tit. i. 5, 6, 7.* *St. Peter* likewise calls himself an *Elder* or *Presbyter*, *1 Pet. v. 1.* And *St. John* does the same in the Beginning of his Second and Third Epistles. But I hope to shew that this is nothing to the Purpose, and consequently that the Conclusion drawn from it must fall to the Ground.

THE Words *Presbyter*, *Bishop*, and *Deacon*, are in the Original, Words of a general and large Signification: The first signifies an Elder, the second an Overseer, the last a Minister; and like the Word *Imperator*, which signifies either an Emperor, or a General of an Army; or the Word *Lawyer*, which in this Kingdom comprehends the Judges, Serjeants, and Barristers at Law; and other general Words, which take in Things of a different Nature. And as those Words have a general, so they have a particular Meaning in Holy Scripture: And therefore, though *St. Paul* calls himself no less than twice $\Delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\sigma$, in one Chapter, *Colos. i. 23, 25.* as he likewise does *Ephes. iii. 7.* and as often as he is stiled a Minister by our Translators; and though this be the Word which is always

put

put for *Deacon* in the *Greek Testament*; yet 'tis on all Hands agreed, that *St. Paul* was no otherwise a *Deacon*, than as a greater Officer includes a less. In like manner may it be observ'd, that there is no Reason to conclude, that every one that is called *Presbyter* in the *New Testament*, was a mere *Presbyter*; especially since it appears from what hath been said, that there was a Superiority and Subordination among those to whom this Name is applicable. As for the Name of *Bishop*, I own that it was generally, if not always, ascribed to those whom we now call *Presbyters* or *Priests*. How then shall we clear up the Point? Why, by having Recourse to *Pacianus*, a Writer of the Fourth, and *Theodoret*, who flourish'd in the Beginning of the Fifth Century; who tell us, that formerly the same Persons were call'd both *Presbyters* and *Bishops*; and those now call'd *Bishops*, were then call'd *Apostles*: But in Process of Time, the Name of *Apostle* was left to *Apostles* strictly so call'd, and the Name of *Bishops* to all the rest; who, it seems, out of Modesty, declined so high a Title.

I REMEMBER Mr. *Peirce* is pleas'd to object to one or both of these Writers as not early enough. But I hope every reasonable, unprejudic'd Man will allow, that they who lived twelve or thirteen hundred Years nearer to the Times of the *Apostles* than Mr. *Peirce*, ought to be allow'd as much better Judges in the Case than he is; especially, since what they deliver hath a Probability in Scripture, and is agreeable to the constant Voice and Practice of the Primitive Church, the best of Commentaries or Expositions on any difficult Text of Scripture.

SECONDLY,

ART. XXIII.

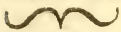
SECONDLY, it is objected, That *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*; 'tis true, that *Timothy* is required to do the *Work of an Evangelist*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 5. But nothing of this kind is to be met with in the *Epistle to Titus*; so that with relation to him the *Objection* is very deficient and ill grounded, as likewise are whatsoever *Consequences* our *Adversaries* imagine they have a *Right* to draw from it, even supposing that the *Title of Evangelist* could be proved to belong to *Titus* as clearly as it does to *Timothy*.

AN *Evangelist*, saith *Mr. Roberts* in his *Visitation Sermon*, to which I could never yet see an *Answer*, was no distinct *Officer* at any time in the *Christian Church*: For the proper *Notion* of an *Evangelist* in the *Acts* and *St. Paul's Epistles*, is one who was eminently qualified to preach the *Gospel*, and had taken great *Pains* therein. Thus *Philip* was called an *Evangelist*, *Acts* xxi. 8. who was no more than a *Deacon*, and could only preach and baptize, and had not the *Power of laying on of Hands*, which *Timothy* had, and therefore the *Office of Philip* was far inferior to that of *Timothy*. Whence 'tis evident, that allowing *Timothy* to be an *Evangelist*, yet his *Power over Presbyters* did not accrue to him upon that *Account*. Nor does *Timothy's* being an *Evangelist*, prove the *Office of ruling and ordaining Presbyters* to be peculiar to an *Evangelist*, any more than *Philip's* being called an *Evangelist*, proves the *Office of preaching and baptizing* to be so. *Timothy* is, indeed, required to do the *Work of an Evangelist*, saith *Mr. Lowth* ‡,

‡ Answer to *Mr. Norman*, p. 13.

but we may observe, it was not his whole Work to preach and propagate the *Gospel*, which was the peculiar Office of an *Evangelist*; but besides that, he was to settle the Churches, to govern them, to ordain Officers, to censure Offenders: These Things are particularly given him in Charge, whereas doing the *Work of an Evangelist* was common to him with divers others.

THERE is no Reason, saith the Author of the Clergyman's *Vade Mecum*, in his Preface to the Second Part of that Book, to believe, that *Timothy's* Precedence proceeded from his being an *Evangelist*: Not only the *Apostle*, but the *Prophet* is placed before this Officer, *Eph. iv. 11.* and it seems to me, that this Office was clearly consistent with any other. Saint *John* and St. *Matthew* were *Apostles* and *Evangelists*, St. *Mark* a *Bishop* and *Evangelist*, St. *Luke* was an *Evangelist*; and yet, as is commonly believed, one of the *Seventy*. *Philip* was certainly both a *Deacon* and *Evangelist*, *Acts xxi. 8.* and why might not *Timothy* as well as *Mark*, be both a *Bishop* and *Evangelist*? We know why four of these are called *Evangelists*, namely, because they were so well skill'd in the History of our Saviour's Life and Death, as to give it us in Writing. By Parity of Reason, all others called *Evangelists*, were such as made it their Study and Business to make themselves acquainted with our Saviour's Actions, and Sermons, and Sufferings, and to relate such Passages of them in the Publick Congregation, as the present Occasion required. And this was as useful and edifying an Office as any in the Church of God; and it was extremely necessary for some Years after our Saviour's Ascension: For it was a good while before the *Gospels* were written, and
much



much longer still before they were dispersed and universally received: During all this Time, the *Evangelist* who could confirm any great Truth, add Weight to any Advice, or Reprehension, by rehearsing any Discourse, or relating any momentous Passage of our Saviour's Life and Death, must have frequent and great Occasion to exercise his Abilities: But when the four Gospels were committed to Writing, and were in every one's Hand, this Office of course ceased. It is not necessary to suppose, that any miraculous Gifts were necessary for this Officer, the Holy Ghost assisted him only *in calling to remembrance* what he had seen or heard by conversing with our Saviour himself, or learned from those who were themselves Eye-Witnesses; therefore he is ranked below the *Prophets*. For it was certainly a more eminent Gift of the Spirit to foretell Things to come, than to be able to recollect what was past.

THE Word *εὐαγγέλιον* *Good News or Message*, saith Dr. *Hammond*, being common to that which is written, and which is delivered by Word of Mouth, two Notions there are of the *Evangelist*, one for the *Writer*, another for the *Preacher* of the *Gospel*. In the first Notion we have the *four Evangelists*, of which *two* were *Apostles* of the *Twelve*, *Matthew* and *John*, and yet those as ordinarily called *Evangelists* as the other two. But this is not the Notion which belongs to this Place, where *Evangelist* is a distinct Office from *Apostle*; but the *Second*, which denotes an Office then known in the Church, when any that was taken Notice of for some eminent Degree of Proficiency in the *Gospel*, and special Abilities of Utterance and Diligence, was, upon Recommendation of the

the Church (as was said of *Timotheus*, *Acts* xvi. 2.) chosen by any of the *Apostles* to assist him in this Work, and sent out with Power of preaching the Gospel (and with doing Miracles, and with Gifts of healing to that Purpose) and of baptizing those that should receive the Gospel, and with others also of ordaining Bishops when the *Apostles* thought fit to allow it him; for as the Office of *Evangelist* being to preach to Unbelievers, requires not the Donation of all the Episcopal Power of Ruling, nor the Power of Ordination necessarily, because when the *Evangelist* had planted the Faith, the *Apostle* himself may come and confirm and ordain Bishops, as we see in *Samaria*; and therefore the Author of the Commentary on the Epistles under St. *Ambrose* his Name, saith on this Place, *Quamvis non sint Sacerdotes, evangelizare tamen possint sine Cathedra, quemadmodum Stephanus & Philippus*. Though they be not Priests, that is, Bishops, yet they may evangelize without a Chair; so the Donation of that superior Power doth not make them cease to be *Evangelists*: And accordingly, as *Philip*, which was but a *Deacon* (and therefore preached and baptized the *Samaritans*, *Acts* viii. 12. *Peter* and *John* the *Apostles* being sent to lay Hands on them, *ver.* 17.); so others that were *Evangelists* had also Power given them by the *Apostles* that sent them out to constitute Churches, and so to ordain Rulers over them; as of *Mark* it is said, that being sent into *Egypt* by St. *Peter*, he constituted *Anianus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; and so when *Timothy* was constituted Bishop of *Ephesus*, 1 *Tim.* i. 3. he is yet commanded by St. *Paul* to do the Work of an *Evangelist*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 5. that is, as he was Bishop of those that believed under that *Metropolis*, and of those also that should come into the Faith

Faith in all *Asia*, so he had also Authority to make known the Gospel to them that knew it not, to call them to the Faith, which is the peculiar Notion of *Ἐυαγγελίζεσθαι* and *κηρύσσειν* to *Evangelize* and to *Preach*, and *μαθητεύειν*, *Mat.* xxviii. 29. to *gather Disciples*, as those Words are opposed to *teaching*, *Acts* xv. 35, &c. v. 44. and as *ὁ λόγος* the *Word* differs from *Doctrine*.

Now as he that from a *Deacon* is made a *Bishop*, hath all the Powers that belong to a *Deacon* still continuing to him, and the Addition of so much more, so he that is an *Evangelist*, if he be farther invested with *Power of Ordination*, may still remain an *Evangelist*, the *Power of constituting Bishops* over them that *believe* and are *baptized*, being reconcilable to the *Power of preaching* to them that *believed not*; only the Word *Evangelist* denoting no more than that of being sent by an *Apostle* to preach, is indifferently used, whether he have the *Power of Deacon* only, as *Philip*, or more; as of *Timothy* and *Mark* hath been affirmed, and so is here set after the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, and distinguished from *Pastors* and *Doctors* that come after, by which the *Ruling Elder* is understood*.

I HAVE often wondered what Answer could be made to this Reasoning of these, and a great many other great and learned Divines of our Communion upon the same Subject, and to the same Purpose, and at last, I confess, I have met with something worthy of a Reply in the 29th and 30th Pages of Mr. *Norman's* Defence

* See Dr. *Hammond*, Note on *Ephes.* iv. 11.

of his Remarks. “ Mr. *Lowth*, saith he, I know, “ says, that to *Preach* and *Propagate* the *Gospel* “ was the peculiar Office of an *Evangelist*; and “ this not being *Timothy’s* whole *Work*, he seems “ to conclude his officiating in a higher Char- “ cter. But when this Gentleman, continues “ he, mentions preaching and propagating the “ *Gospel*, as the peculiar Office of an *Evange-* “ *list*, if he means that this was all the *Work* “ that belonged to that *Character*, (and he must “ mean that, if he would conclude any thing from “ it in Favour of his Opinion) he has a different “ Notion of the Office of an *Evangelist* from “ *Eusebius*, who makes one Part of his *Work* “ to be to constitute *Pastors*, so that *Timothy* and “ *Titus* might do that as well as preach the *Go-* “ *spel*, and yet be no other than *Evangelists*. “ And indeed *Timothy* was charged by *St. Paul*, “ in his second Epistle to him, to do the *Work* “ of an *Evangelist*, Chap. iv. 5. And this was “ not consistent with his being fixed as a *Bishop* “ in any particular Place; the Business of an “ *Evangelist* being (according to the Account “ given by the aforementioned Historian) to lay “ the Foundations of the Faith in barbarous “ Nations, to constitute *Pastors*; and having “ committed to them the cultivating of these “ new Plantations, to pass on to other Coun- “ tries and Nations.” And for a Proof of this, “ he refers us to the third Book and the thirty- “ seventh Chapter of *Eusebius’s* Ecclesiastical Hi- “ story.

THE Words of *Eusebius*, which Mr. *Nor-* “ *man* refers to, are these — Many of the then “ Disciples, whose Souls were inflamed by the Di- “ vine Word with a more ardent Desire of Philo- “ sophy, first fulfilled our Saviour’s Command-

ment, by distributing their Substance to those that were necessitous; then after that travelling abroad, they performed the Work of *Evangelists* to those who as yet had not at all heard the Word of Faith; being very ambitious to preach Christ, and to deliver the Books of the Divine Gospels. And these Persons, having only laid the Foundation of Faith in remote and barbarous Places, and constituted other Pastors, committed to them the Culture of those they had perfectly introduced to the Faith, departed again to other Regions and Nations, accompany'd with the Grace and Co-operation of God — Now he that can see any more in this, than what I have transcribed from those learned Writers of our Church, before-mention'd, concerning the Office of an *Evangelist*, is able to see, I confess, a great deal farther than I can. That *Evangelists* had sometimes the Power of Ordination, we have admitted, and have the same Notion of an *Evangelist* that *Eusebius* had, which he here explains to be the Preaching of Christ, and delivering the Books of the Divine Gospel. As to the other Clause of this Quotation, it is a plain Transition to a distinct Article, and the Exercise of a distinct Office, and is very far from being an Assertion equivalent to Mr. *Norman's*, That Ordination was one Branch of the Office of an *Evangelist*, consider'd as such. Many that travelled abroad might perform the Work of *Evangelists* and ordain Pastors, and yet every *Evangelist* might not have Power to ordain, as we have shewn before in the Quotation from Dr. *Hammond*. If Mr. *Norman* will not agree to this, I must desire him to make this Notion of the Office of an *Evangelist*, which he would fain father upon *Eusebius*, consistent with what the same Author delivers but a few Pages before

before concerning *Timothy* and *Titus*. For in the fourth Chapter of this very Book he tells us, that *Timothy* was reported to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of the *Ephesian* Church ; as also *Titus* of the Churches in *Crete*. This he delivers at least as a Piece of History, which he had no Objection to ; whereas if he had looked upon these Men as *Evangelists*, (which for ought I know he might) and if he had such a Notion of their Office, as such, as Mr. *Norman* says he had, 'tis very strange that so judicious and exact a Person as *Eusebius*, should not have dropt a Word or two to shew us the Improbability, nay the utter Impossibility of the Truth of such a Report. That learned and accurate Person *Valesius*, who published the best Edition of *Eusebius* now extant, was pretty quick-sighted where any busy Editor had been so free as to set *Eusebius* against himself, and yet he hath found no Contradiction betwixt the fourth and thirty-seventh Chapters of the third Book of his Ecclesiastical History. To this let me add, that St. *Chrysostom*, whose Judgment was so far esteemed of, as to be made the common Standard of the Church, had certainly as true a Notion of the Office of an Evangelist as we can pretend to have at this Distance ; nor could he be ignorant of what *Eusebius* says, “ That many very eminent and zealous Persons
 “ in the primitive Times went abroad, per-
 “ form'd the Work of Evangelists to others,
 “ constituted Pastors in their new Plantations,
 “ and then passed on to other Regions and Na-
 “ tions ;” nor that *Timothy* was charged by St. *Paul* to do the Work of an *Evangelist* ; and yet he * asserts that *Timothy* was ordained Bishop

* *Chryf.* Hom. 1. in *Philip*.

of *Ephesus* by *St. Paul*. The same may be said of *Epiphanius* *, *St. Jerom* †, *Hilary* the Deacon ‡, and the Author of the *Passion of Timothy* in *Photius* **. And *Theodoret* moreover affirms, thrt he was Bishop, under the Title of an Apostle ††. Most of the same Authors agree in the same Evidence for *Titus*, that he was made Bishop of *Crete* by *St. Paul* also. And *St. Chrysostom*, as well as *Eusebius*, seems to give both him and *Timothy* the Power of *Metropolitans* ‡‡. All these Writers were doubtless of Opinion, that a Man might exercise his Talent as an *Evangelist*, even tho' he fixed his Residence in this or that particular Country; and as *Mr. Norman* is the first Writer, that I know of, that ever asserted the contrary, a Writer of the Eighteen-hundredth Century, and since he proves it no better than by wire-drawing and torturing the Words of *Eusebius*, I shall by this Time venture to wish him Joy of his Discovery, and so take Leave of the Objection which is taken from the Supposition that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*. For tho' I am not ignorant that a fuller Answer may be given to it, yet I cannot but look upon what I have said already to be sufficient.

THIRDLY, The most learned Advocates for the Presbyterian Government object, that tho' the Apostles exercised a Superiority over

* *Epiphan. Hæres. 75. Acrian.*

† *Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. in Timotheo.*

‡ *Pseudo-Ambros. Præf. in Tim. It. Com. in 1 Tim. iii.*

** *Phor. Cod. 254.*

†† *Theodor. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.*

‡‡ *Euseb. & Chryf. Theod. as before cited. Hieron. de Scriptor. in Tit. Pseudo-Ambros. Præf. in Tit. Chryf. Hom. 1. in Tit. & 15. in 1 Tim.*

the other Ecclesiastical Orders, yet they left none behind to succeed them in that Power, but the Church was every where governed by a Common Council of *Presbyters*.: But this Form of Government being found inconvenient, as giving too much Occasion for *Schisms* and *Divisions*, it was at last universally agreed upon, that one *Presbyter* should be choiſen out to preſide over all the reſt ; and this, ſay they, was the Beginning of *Episcopacy*, for which they cite that famous Paſſage of *St. Jerom*, *Antequam Diaboli inſtinctu*, &c. *i. e.* Before ſuch Time as through the Inſtinct of the Devil *Diviſions* in Religion began, and it was ſaid among the People, I am of *Paul*, I am of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by Common Councils of *Presbyters* ; but afterwards every *Presbyter* reckoning ſuch as he baptized to be his, and not *Chriſt's*, it was agreed over all the World, that one from among the *Presbyters* ſhould be choſen and ſet over all the reſt, to whom ſhould belong all the Care of the Churches, that ſo the Seeds of *Schisms* might be deſtroyed ; which univerſal Decree, as they gueſs, was made about the Year 140.

THIS Objection, as 'tis abſtracted from the Teſtimony of *St. Jerom*, is what I have returned an Answer to already, and therefore I ſhall not repeat it. Nevertheless it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething in lieu of it, and therefore I ſhall lay before the Reader thoſe Arguments which *Mr. Baxter* makes uſe of in the 831ſt Page of his *Chriſtian Directory*, to prove that the ordinary governing Part of the Apoſtolic Office, was ſettled for all following Ages.

1. Becauſe we read of the ſettling of that Form, but we never read of any Abolition, Diſcharge,

or Cessation of the Institution. 2. Because if we affirm a Cessation without Proof, we seem to accuse God of Mutability, as settling one Form of Government for one Age only, and no longer. 3. We leave Room for audacious Wits accordingly to question other Gospel Institutions, as Pastors, Sacraments, &c. and to say they were but for an Age. 4. It was general Officers Christ promised to be with to the End of the World. As to this Passage of St. *Jerom*, which so much Strefs is laid upon, I shall not dispute the Sense of it, but allowing that which they put upon it to be right, I shall only desire the Reader to consider, 1. That it is the Testimony of one who lived long after several that have been and may be quoted as Witnesses, not only of the Continuance of the Apostolick Superiority in the Church in the next Age after the Apostles, but also of the Derivation of it from the Apostles themselves, and so far less capable of attesting so early a Matter of Fact; for some of these were such as lived in the Days of the Apostles, others such as lived in their Days who lived in the Days of the Apostles; and certainly these were much more competent Witnesses of what was done in the Apostles Days than St. *Jerom*, who was not born till about the Year 330, almost an hundred Years after *Origen* the latest, and three hundred Years after *Clemens* the earliest of those Writers; and certainly to prefer the Authority of one single Witness, who lived so long after the Matter of Fact, to the unanimous Attestations of so many earlier Witnesses, is both immodest and irrational. 2. It is also to be considered that St. *Jerom* was a Witness in his own Cause, in which Case Men of his Warmth and Passion are too apt to exceed the Limits of Truth; for the Design of that Passage was to curb the Insolence

of some pragmatistical Deacons, who would needs advance themselves above the Presbyters, which St. *Jerom*, being a Presbyter himself, takes in high Disdain, and, as the best of Men are too prone to do when their own Concerns are at Stake, bends the Stick too much the other Way, and depresses the Deacon too *low*, and advances the Presbyter too *high*. For, 3. In other Places, where he is not biased by Partiality to his own Order, he talks at a quite different Rate. So in *Dial. Advers. Luciferian*. “Dost thou ask
 “ why one that is not baptized by the Bishop
 “ doth not receive the Holy Ghost? Why it
 “ proceeds from hence, that the Holy Ghost
 “ descended on the Apostles.” Where it is plain that he placeth the Bishops in the same Rank with the Apostles. So also in *Ep. ad Heliodor*. speaking of the Bishops of his Time, “They stand, saith he, in the Place of St. *Paul*,
 “ and hold the Place of St. *Peter*.” And in *Psal. xlv. 16*. “Now because the Apostles are
 “ gone from the World, thou hast instead of
 “ those their Sons the Bishops; and these are
 “ thy Fathers, because thou art governed by
 “ them.” And *Ep. ad Nepot*. “What *Aaron* and
 “ his Sons were, that we know the Bishops and
 “ the Presbyters are.” And therefore as *Aaron*, by *Divine Right*, was superior to his Sons the *Priests*, so is the *Bishop* above his *Presbyters*; all which are as plain *Contradictions* to that famous Passage of his (understanding it as the Presbyterians do) as one Proposition can be to another: And I would fain know whether a Man be not more to be credited when he speaks without Biass or Partiality, than when he speaks in his *own Cause*, and under the Influence of his *own Interest*? 4. It is farther to be consider’d, that the Decree of which St. *Jerom* here speaks,

by which the Government of the Church was translated from a *Common Council* of *Presbyters* to a single *Bishop*, must, according to his own Words, be *Apostolical*, and consequently much earlier than the *Presbyterians* will allow it; for it was made at that Time when it was said among the People, I am of *Paul*, and I am of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*; and this, as *St. Paul* tells us, was said in his Time, and therefore this *Decree* must be made in his Time; and that *St. Jerom* did mean so, we are elsewhere assur'd from his own Words, for so in his Book *de Eccles. Script.* he tells us, that immediately after the *Ascension* of our Lord, *St. James* was ordained by the *Apostles* to be *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* by *St. Paul* *Bishop* of *Ephesus*, *Titus* *Bishop* of *Crete*, and *Polycarp* by *St. John* *Bishop* of *Smyrna*. So that either he must here expressly contradict himself, or else the *Decree* of which he speaks must have been made *immediately after the Ascension* of our Lord, and so it consequently must be an *Apostolical Decree*. 5. It is yet farther to be considered, that if any such *Decree*, of changing the Church Government from *Presbyterial* to *Episcopal*, had been made by the *Apostles*, it is strange we should not find the least mention of it in *Scripture*; and if it had been made after the *Apostles*, about the Year 140, it is strange we should have no mention of it in *Ecclesiastic Antiquity*; for an *Universal Change* of the Government of the Church from one kind to another, is a Matter of such vast Moment, that had the *Apostles* made a *Decree* concerning it, they would doubtless have been very solicitous to *publish* it through all the *Churches*, and to have transmitted down to *Posterity* some *standing Record* of it; which yet they were so far from doing, that they have not given us the least

least *Intimation* of it in all their Writings: And had it been made afterwards, about the Year 140, to be sure all primitive Antiquity would have rung of such a *publick* and *important Alteration*; but, on the contrary, we see both *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, who lived before that Period, testify, that the Church was not governed in their Time by a Common Council of Presbyters, but by Bishops; *Hegesippus*, *Irenæus*, and *Dionysius of Corinth*, who lived in that Period, are so far from taking Notice of any such Decree of Alteration, that they testify the Government of the Church by an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops, even from the *Apostles* themselves; and as for *Irenæus*, who gives us an Account of the Succession of the *Roman* Bishops, from *St. Peter*, down to the Time when he himself was at *Rome*, it was as easy for him to know who they were that succeeded from *St. Peter*, as it is for us to know who succeeded from Archbishop *Whitgift* in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he being no farther distant from the one than we are from the other; and tho' thro' the *Ambiguity* or *Defect* of the Records of *some* Churches, this *Succession* be not equally clear in all, yet in the most *eminent* Churches, such as *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, the Successions are as clear as any thing in Ecclesiastical History; and is it not much more reasonable to conclude what was the *Government* of those Churches that are not known, from what we find was the *Government* of those that are, than to question those Ecclesiastical Records that are preserved, because of the Uncertainty of those that are not; for tho' we do not find in all Churches an exact Catalogue of all their Bishops; yet we cannot produce any one Instance in any one ancient Church of any other Form of Government than the *Episcopal*, and therefore,

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fore, as I have observed before, we may as well question whether there ever was any such thing as an ancient *Monarchy* in the World, because many of the Histories of the Monarchs are defective as to their *Names*, and the Order of their *Succession*, as whether there was ever any such thing as a primitive *Episcopacy* in the Church, because the Records of several Churches are *defective* as to the *Names* and *Successions* of their Bishops: Since therefore this Story of St. *Jerom's* Universal Decree is not only altogether unattested, but also directly *contradictory* to the concurrent Testimony of all *Antiquity*, how can we reasonably look upon it otherwise than as a mere Figment of his own Fancy? Especially considering, 6thly and lastly, How odiously this Conceit of his reflects upon the Wisdom of our Saviour, and his Apostles; for the Apostles devolving the Government of the Church upon Common Councils of *Presbyters*, was, as he himself tells us, the Occasion of several *Schisms* and *Divisions*; for the Removal of which, the Church afterwards found it necessary to dissolve those Presbyteries, and introduce *Episcopacy* in their Room; and this St. *Jerom* approves as a very wise and prudent Action. With relation to the Epistles of St. *Ignatius*, what Dr. *Calamy* hath been pleased to say of them shall be as much slighted by me as it hath been by others. "I could not, says he, help reckoning any Modern, that should use such Language as St. *Ignatius* does, as one out of his Wits, or a Blasphemer." *Defence of Mod. Nonconformity, Part 1. p. 152.* This, as he hath been told, is only saying an unmannerly Thing, and instead of his Learning, to shew his Breeding, and must pass for a gross Calumny till he be able to prove his Words, which he will never be able to do,

except

except he mean, that the blessed Martyr, to whom so many Honours were shewn by the ancient Church, be a Blasphemer of his (Dr. Calamy's) *Diana, Anarchy and Democracy*. But as another, and, if possible, more surprizing Use hath been made of them of late Years, I must of Necessity have Regard to it, together with such other Arguments as are produced upon the same Account. And this brings me to consider the *Independent or Congregational* Scheme, as I promised to do, as soon as I had dispatched the *Presbyterian*. For indeed the old Quarrel about the Pre-eminence of Bishops above Presbyters seems in a manner to be dropped, and 'tis acknowledged that in the Primitive Church, particularly in St. *Ignatius's* Time, Bishops were superior to Presbyters; but then 'tis alledged that a Bishop was no more than the Pastor of a single Congregation, and that his Superiority over a Presbyter was no more than that of a Rector over his Curate. The Church of this or that Place, 'tis said, was a single Congregation, only the Bishop of that Church was the chief Minister or Presbyter of it, and this is alledged to be an *Apostolical Institution*, and the Practice of three or four Centuries or Ages after the Apostles, and, by this Means, Antiquity, which the *Church of England* hath so long given out to be entirely on her Side, is supposed to be fairly carried over to the *Dissenters*. I cannot but begin with observing, that those of the *Independent or Congregational* Way, are a novel and upstart Sect, that owes its Rise to the Confusions of the *Civil Wars*; and 'tis a very good Presumption against it, that 'twas never before heard of, tho' the *Sectaries* of former Times were as quick-sighted as they are now, and 'tis hardly to be conceived how they could have missed those Motives for

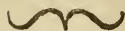
Sepa-

Separation which are contained in the Objections of those Men against our *Ecclesiastical Government*, if they had any other real Foundation besides Fancy, or something worse. Nor was the *Independent* or *Congregational* Way, when it first appeared in these Kingdoms, condemned by the *Church of England* only, but also by the *Presbyterians* both at Home and Abroad. For as Mr. *Bingham* informs us, in his *Apology of the French Church*, &c. B. I. ch. I. the whole *Reformed Church of France*, in their third *Synod of Charenton*, held A. D. 1644. condemned it as a Sect most prejudicial to the Church and dangerous to the State; because, say they, in case it should prevail, it would form as many Religions as there be Parishes. The Notion which these Men had with Relation to the Government of the Church hath been considered already, and their Scheme, as hath been shewn, differs widely from that which I am now concerned with. 'Tis true that many of them, particularly those of our own Nation, denied *Diocesan Episcopacy* to be the Primitive Church Government, because they asserted that Bishops and Presbyters were the same, and that the Government of the Church belonged to a Common Council of Presbyters, by an *Apostolical Decree*, according to the Fancy of St. *Jerom*, which I hope I have sufficiently refuted. But it will appear hereafter, that the Reformed Churches abroad have from Time to Time looked upon *Diocesan Episcopacy* as very ancient, and as it is established and practised in our Church, to be very far from being a sufficient Motive to begin or carry on a Separation. And if it be true that the *Independent* or *Congregational* Scheme be nothing but a modern Invention, as the whole Christian World (the Patronizers of this pretty Whim

Whim only excepted) seem to be fully agreed, as far as I could ever learn, what is built upon it stands upon a very tottering Foundation, and therefore I cannot yield that the taking Notice of this Matter is at all wide from the Argument, but as pertinent and apposite as any thing can be. But as the Cause I am pleading hath, God be thanked, no Occasion to have us lay any greater Stress upon the bare Judgments of Churches or particular Divines than our Adversaries are willing to allow us, I shall examine the Reasonings of the most celebrated Champions of this new Doctrine. And here I shall only single out some of the most material Parts of the Controversy, and refer the Reader for further Satisfaction to Dr. *Maurice's Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*, which contains a full and exact Answer to Mr. *Clarkson's Primitive Episcopacy*, to the *Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, which is, as to this Point, for it reaches no further, a compleat Answer to the *Enquiry*, &c.; and to Bishop *Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation*, which contains a thorough Confutation of the first Advocates for this new Engine of *Independency*, which, as a learned Writer of our Church says, was encouraged, when it first appeared, by some *State Politicians* and *Military Officers*, in order to pull up all Church Authority by the Roots. But if we can shew that the *Independent* or *Congregational Scheme* is unsound at Bottom; if we can shew that its chiefest Props or Pillars are but *imaginary ones*, we need not be in any great Pain about the rest, a Confutation of which is only necessary to shew that there can be no Room to look upon the Defenders of it to be unanswerable. The Definition of a Church is made the Corner Stone of this Controversy, and therefore

ART. XXIII.

therefore I shall observe the same Method. The Word *Ἐκκλησία*, or *Church*, signifies in Strictness a Company of Men called out from others, and is derived from the Verb *ἐκκαλέω*, to call out. Among the *Athenians*, from whom the Use of it came into the *Christian Church*, it was taken for such an Assembly as had the Power of Governing and Determining Matters of Religion, as well as the Affairs of State. For the *Senate of Five Hundred* being distributed into *Fifties*, according to the Number of the *Tribes*, which succeeded by course, through the Year, and was then called *πρυτανεύουσα φύλη*, or the *Governing Tribe*; every one of these had four *νόμιχοι ἐκκλησίαι*, *Regular Assemblies*, in the last of which, an Account of the Sacrifices was taken, and of other Matters which concerned Religion; as in the *Comitia Calata* at *Rome*. From whence we may observe, that it was not the Meeting of one of the *single Tribes* that was called *ἐκκλησία*, but the *general Meeting* of the Magistrates of the whole City and the People together. In Scripture the Word signifies, when apply'd in its most extensive and largest Sense, to the Visible Church of Christ, the whole Catholick or Universal Church, which is allowed by Divines of all Persuasions to be rightly defined in the 19th Article; where 'tis said, that "The Visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those Things that of Necessity are requisite to the same." And in this Sense is it to be understood, *Eph. i. 22, 23.* where Christ is said to be *Head* of the Church, and the Church to be his *Body*, and *Chap. v. ver. 24, 25, 27, 29.* and all other Places of the like Import.



port. But as it must be acknowledged that the Word *ἐκκλησία*, or *Church*, is also used to denote a Part or Parts of this Universal Church, we must now proceed to consider what those Parts are, for 'tis certain that we frequently read of Churches in the Plural Number, as often perhaps as we do of the Church in the Singular. And here I do readily yield that a single Congregation is in Scripture called a Church, particularly 1 Cor. xiv. 24. *If therefore the whole Church be come together into one Place, &c.* and in several other Places, to say nothing of the Churches in the Houses of *Priscilla* and *Aquila* at *Rome*, of *Nymphas* at *Colosse*, and *Philemon* at *Laodicea*, because the Texts which make mention of these are controverted both by *Episcoparians* and *Presbyterians*, and I have no Occasion to interest my self in this Dispute. I agree likewise, that this is also the Language of the *Primitive Church* as well as the present Times. I agree to what the Author of the *Enquiry*, &c. hath quoted from *Tertullian's* Exhortation to Chastity, p. 457. *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, Where three are, there is a Church*, or, as he hath translated it, that *Three are sufficient to make a Church*. Thus far there is no Dispute; but I can by no means allow that either Scripture or Antiquity require us to understand by the *Church of Rome* the *Church of Smyrna*, the *Church of Antioch*, the *Church of Athens*, the *Church of Alexandria*, or the *Church* in any other such Place whatsoever, no more than a Congregation of Christians assembling all together for religious Exercises at *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Smyrna*, *Athens*, *Alexandria*, or such like Places, as the *Enquirer* and those of his Sentiments would have us believe. I shall, in order to shew my Reasons for dissenting from this Opinion of our Adversaries, begin with the Church

of

Jerusalem, the Mother Church of all, which the ingenious *Enquirer*, for Reasons best known to himself, is pleased to take no Notice of. It is to me unconceivable, and I am apt to think it was so to him, how the many Thousands from Time to Time converted in *Jerusalem* alone, and the daily Increase of them, (as it is specify'd in the Texts here noted at Bottom *) should commodiously or indeed possibly worship God in one and the same Place together, since they neither had the capacious Temple (we may assure our selves) or any other Place, that should be too much taken Notice of, to hold such a numerous and indeed inconceivable Assembly in. And yet St. *James*, the Bishop of this Church, himself, in a few Years after, calls those Thousands of converted *Jews* by the multiplied Name of *Myriads* of them, *Acts* xxi. 20. † And if common Sense and Reason can contract such Numbers into a single Congregation, all the other Parts of *Divine Writ*, will, I am afraid, feel the dangerous Effect of such an extraordinary commenting upon them. Nevertheless, this is what Mr. *Norman* is so hardy as to attempt in the 67th Page of his *Defence of his Re-*

* *Acts* i. 15. The Number of the Names together were about 120. *Acts* ii. 41. There were added to them about 3000 Souls. *Ver.* 47. The Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved. *Acts* iv. 4. (*Peter* and *John* preaching afterwards upon healing of the Cripple) many of them which heard, believed; and the Number of the Men was about 5000. *Acts* v. 14. Believers were the more added to the Lord both of Men and Women. *Acts* vi. 7. Still the Word of God increased, and the Number of Disciples multiplied in *Jerusalem* greatly; and a great Company of the Priests were obedient to the Faith.

† Θεωρεῖς ἀδελφεῖ, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν πεπισκυμένων. *Acts* xxi. 20.

marks, as Mr. *Clarkson* had done before him in the 6th Page of his *Primitive Episcopacy*. Let us therefore attend to what those Gentlemen have been pleased to say. “ *Three thousand*, I confess, says Mr. *Norman*, were converted by *Peter’s* Sermon, and there was soon a very considerable Addition made to that Number; but then it may be observed, that among these Converts there were many *Strangers*, who came to *Jerusalem* on the Day of *Pentecost*; and these must be supposed to return very soon into their several Countries, by which the Number might be so reduced, that such as continued at *Jerusalem* might be able to meet in one Place for social Worship: And if the *Upper Room*, which the Apostles and Disciples met in immediately after our Saviour’s Ascension, was not sufficient for so great a Number, without doubt they found another to assemble in: But if that could not be done, and there was a Necessity for their meeting in several Places, (which doth not appear) till Mr. *Lowth* can prove that *one Bishop* governed these several Congregations, and their several Presbyters, by an Authority vested in him as a Bishop, and not as an Apostle, I think he proves nothing.” Mr. *Norman* hath here given us a sufficient Proof that he is resolved to die hard, and hath sadly convinced us what a terrible Thing it is to be under the Prejudices of a wrong Education, or to be resolved to persist in the Notions which we have had the Misfortune to espouse. ’Tis true, that an Allowance may be made for Strangers, with relation to the *Three thousand* converted on the Feast of *Pentecost*; but such as are to be reckoned in the considerable Addition that Mr. *Norman* confesses was made to them afterwards,

do not appear to have been converted on the Feast, and therefore whatsoever Deductions we may make from the Three thousand, yet the Five thousand, the Multitudes of Men and Women, and the Number which caused the Company of Disciples to multiply in JERUSALEM greatly, and the great Company of the Priests, or, as the *Syriack* reads, of the *Jews* that were obedient unto the Faith, will remain to the Church of *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding this Deduction. Secondly, Let me add, that Mr. *Norman* is no Stranger to the *Greek* Tongue, and that he knows very well that *ἑκατὶ μυριάδες*, which our Translators render (*how many Thousands*) ought to have been rendered (*how many Myriads*, and that a *Myriad* is *Ten thousand*. This Gentleman hath doubtless exercised his Faculty in numerous Assemblies of Dissenters, and cannot be ignorant, that when all the Contrivances imaginable are made to enable a Minister to speak, and a Congregation to hear to the best Advantage, so great a Number as Two thousand is a vast Audience, and as large an one as the best Pair of Lungs in the Kingdom can possibly enable a Man to be understood by. I am here willing to forestal an Objection, which I should otherwise make my self pretty sure of; which is this, That the Myriads of Converts spoken of *Acts* xxi. 20. may fairly be supposed to consist, in a great measure, of out-lying *Jews*, who were assembled at *Jerusalem* on the Account of the Feast; for 'tis said, Chap. xx. ver. 16. That St. *Paul* hasted, if it were possible for him to be at *Jerusalem* the Day of *Pentecost*. I will not dispute whether the Apostle obtained his Ends or not, tho' I know St. *Chrysoptom*, Bishop *Pearson*, and Dr. *Maurice*, think it very plain that he did not arrive at *Jerusalem* till the

Feast

Feast of *Pentecost* was over ; for it is certainly very manifest that these Myriads were not of the Number of those that were dispersed among the *Gentiles*, for then St. *James* could not properly have said to him as he does, *Acts* xxi. 21. *They* (meaning those Myriads of believing *Jews* spoken of in the foregoing Verse) *are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake Moses, &c.* because these *Jews*, having been thus taught by St. *Paul*, would have been able to give an Account of his Doctrine without the Assistance of any such Information as is here specify'd. But, thirdly, If, for Argument's Sake, we suppose Mr. *Norman* in the right, as to his Deduction from the first Converts at *Jerusalem*, yet it will not be denied but that a Number of Christians, too large for one Meeting-Place, for the Performance of Divine Service, resided together at *Jerusalem* for a Time, and yet we read only of the *Church*, and never of the *Churches of Jerusalem* ; nor is there the least Hint throughout all the New Testament, that as soon as the Converts or Company of Believers became too great there or elsewhere for one *particular Assembly*, they did or must become a new Church under particular Officers, and an independent Authority. How the Matter stood, is plain enough to any Man that will see with his Eyes, from *Acts* ii. 46. where the Disciples are said to frequent the Temple, which it seems the first Christians did for some Time at the Hour of Prayer, Chap. iii. ver. 1. And 'tis clearly intimated that their Assemblies, which were *properly Christian*, were held in several private Houses, for they are said to continue in breaking Bread, *κατ' οἶκον*, from House to House. If we compare this Place with Chap. xx. ver. 7. where 'tis said, That

upon the first Day of the Week, when the Disciples came together to break Bread, Paul preached unto them, it will appear, that by Breaking of Bread, we are to understand the Administration of the Lord's Supper, which was so constant and main a Part of their Religious Worship, that 'tis mentioned as the chief and in a manner the only End of their assembling together. From what hath been said upon this Point, we may furnish ourselves with a general but sufficient Answer to the Argument, which our Brethren of the Congregational Way think themselves intitled to from those Instances, by which they think it proved, beyond Contradiction, that some Churches in the Primitive Times did not exceed a single Congregation, for no Bishop could have more Congregations than all the Christians of his City and Territory could compose; but this does not preclude the Bishops from a Right of having many Congregations under their Inspection, if more had been. The Controversies about Church-Government, turn upon Questions of Right, and not of Fact: Matters of Fact are pertinently alledged to prove a Right, where the Fact does involve a Judgment of Right; but where it is purely accidental, it has no Consequence on either Side; "for, saith he, " the Safety of the Church depends upon the " Authority of the High Priest or Bishop, to " whom if there were not given all supreme " Authority, there would be as many Schisms " in the Churches as there are Priests." So that, according to him, had the Church continued under that Government which the Apostles, as the Presbyterians suppose, left in it, it must unavoidably have been torn in Pieces with endless Schisms and Divisions; and if so, either the Apostles were very *imprudent* in not foreseeing this,

or very *negligent* in not preventing it; so that had not the *Aster-age* taken care to supply the *Defect* of their Conduct, by erecting a *Wiser Form* of Government than they left, the Church had infallibly run to *Ruin*. This is the unavoidable Consequence of St. *Jerom's* Hypothesis with Relation to our *Saviour*, and if understood as the Presbyterians will have it; that is, if the Decree he speaks of was made in the Year 140, with Relation to the *Apostles*; which therefore I can look upon no otherwise than as a mere *Device* of his own Brain, snatched up in haste to defend his Order against the Insolence of those factious *Deacons* that flew in the Face of the *Presbytery*.

BUT nothing, it seems, will satisfy Mr. *Norman*, except it can be proved, that supposing the first Converts at *Jerusalem* were at length so numerous, that there was a Necessity for their meeting in several Places, that *one Bishop* governed these *several Congregations* and their Presbyters, by an Authority vested in him as a *Bishop*, and not as an *Apostle*, and till Mr. *Lowth*, says he, could do this, he thinks he had proved nothing by what he had said about them. But, with Mr. *Norman's* good Leave, this is quite another Question; Mr. *Lowth's* Business was to dig up the Foundation of the new-invented Fabrick of Independency, which he hath effectually done in one Paragraph, which consists of no more than about eighteen or twenty Lines, his Design being to handle the Argument in a much briefer manner than I have done; and Standers-by will make bold to say, that Mr. *Norman* being brought to a Difficulty, leap'd over the Hedge, and after having roundly asserted what he pleas'd, endeavour'd to wave the

Matter in Debate, and to amuse the Reader with a Point which is properly the Superstructure of the Independent Scheme. I am a little unwilling to be diverted from the Argument I am upon, and therefore shall not step out of the Way to try whether I can prove what Mr. *Norman* says he thinks necessary to make what hath been already advanced of Service to the Cause of Episcopacy, but shall pass it by for the present as more proper to be spoken to hereafter, and so proceed to consider what Mr. *Clarkson* hath been pleased to offer in Relation to the Church of *Jerusalem*. As to the first Converts, he says, "It is but a small Proportion of those
 " Thousands that can in Reason be accounted
 " to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and so fixed
 " Members of that Church, for they were con-
 " verted at one of the great Feasts; at which
 " Time the Inhabitants were not by far a twen-
 " tieth Part of those that were assembled in the
 " City." This hath been answered already, it being the same in Substance with what I have taken Notice of in Mr. *Norman's Defence*, &c. But as Mr. *Clarkson* hath offered something more than this in the 4th Page of his *Primitive Episcopacy*, which is really new, and carries with it the Air of Demonstration, I will beg the Reader's Patience, while I let him see, with how great Pains and Learning some Authors can gristle.

THAT it may appear, what small Proportion the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* held to the Multitude that resorted thither on the solemn Feasts, our Author enters into an Enquiry, both after the Number of the Inhabitants of that City, and of those that resorted from other Places to those Solemnities. "To begin with
 " the

“ the latter of these, he says, that *Josephus* tells
 “ us, and out of him *Eusebius*, that *Cestius*
 “ *Gallus*, willing to represent to *Nero*, who
 “ contemned the *Jews*, the Strength of that
 “ People, desired the Priests to take an Account
 “ of the Number, and, to make the Story short,
 “ from the Number of the Paschal Sacrifices,
 “ they computed all the *Jews* present at that
 “ Passover to be about three Millions; but
 “ then they were all in a manner Foreigners,
 “ for a great Part of that Multitude came from
 “ abroad; whereas the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*
 “ were but sixscore Thousand, as we learn by
 “ *Hecatæus*: And that we may not fancy *Heca-*
 “ *tæus* to have under-reckoned the Inhabitants
 “ of *Jerusalem*, our Author intimates a quite
 “ contrary Suspicion. It may be, he says, that
 “ *Hecatæus*, or his Informer, over-reached as
 “ well in the Number of the Citizens, as in the
 “ Measure of the City; and that he makes the
 “ Circuit of it fifty Furlongs, whereas *Josephus*
 “ says, it was but thirty-three, and the Cir-
 “ cumvallation of *Titus* but thirty-nine.” From
 all this, therefore, he concludes, that the Inha-
 bitants of *Jerusalem*, upon the most favourable
 Computation, will scarce make the twentieth
 Part of the Multitude, which usually attended
 those *Feasts*, and consequently not a twentieth
 Part of the Converts mentioned in the *Acts* can
 be supposed to belong to the Church of *Jeru-*
salem. To find out the Proportion between the
 Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Paschal Af-
 semblies, it is necessary to know the Number of
 each at the same Time, or at least-wise in the
 same Age. Now *Hecatæus*, from whom he
 learns the Number of the Citizens, lived un-
 der *Alexander* the Great and *Ptolomy* the Son of
Lagus; but the Numbers of those who resorted



to the Passover, was taken by the Order of *Cestius Gallus* under *Nero*, that is, above three hundred and fifty Years after. The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* might be much more numerous in the Apostles Time, than in the Age of *Hecataeus*, and therefore this Calculation cannot be certain, and this Spectre of Demonstration vanishes. That I may not seem to want a due Regard for Mr. *Clarkson's* Diligence upon this Point, I will not dismiss this Calculation with so short a Reply, but examine every Point of it apart, and shew of what Consequence it may be to the Congregational Scheme. 1. The three Millions return'd to *Nero* came from no authentick *Census*, or any certain Account, but only from Conjecture; and one may reasonably suspect that the Priests, to set out the Greatness of the Nation to a Prince who had them in Contempt, would be apt to over-reckon. 2. *Jerusalem* could not receive so many Millions, if the Circuit of it were but thirty-three Furlongs, as we read in *Josephus*; and our Author does contend it was no more. 3. If this Account of the Priests should be admitted, yet that Passover might be extraordinary, and like that of *Josiah*, of which it is said, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 22. that *surely there was not holden such a Passover, from the Days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor in all the Days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah.* And that this Number was extraordinary, appears from *Josephus*, who, accounting for the vast Number said to be slain and taken in *Jerusalem*, informs us, that the *Jews* resorted thither out of all the Country, and were unawares shut up in that fatal Siege; and yet the Sum was about twelve hundred thousand Persons, not half of that Number upon which our Author calculates; yet this seem'd so extraordinary, that *Josephus*, to
make

make it pass, observes, that the greatest Part indeed were *Jews*, but not Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* or *Judea* *. 4. Tho' a middle Number might be agreed on for calculating the Paschal Assemblies, yet would it be of no Use in the present Question; for we do not read in Scripture of any Converts made on the Passover; but the three thousand which are now under Debate, were converted on the Feast of *Pentecost*, and from the Resort of these, no Guess can be made of the Numbers that repaired to the other; for the Passover was much more frequented than the *Pentecost*. It is true, that the Law seems to make no Difference between the three Festivals, but obligeth all the Males to repair to the Place which God should choose upon each of those Feasts. But the Practice of the *Jews* seems to have been otherwise, long before our Saviour's Time. *Lyra* observes, that those who were far from *Jerusalem* were excused from attending on the two Feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles †. And *Isella* cites some *Jewish* Authors to this Purpose, that the Law obliged those only who lived near the Sanctuary; the rest were dispensed with, so they appeared once a Year, that is at the Passover. He mentions others that were of Opinion that the Law was satisfied, if every third Year all the Males came up to the three Feasts; but he himself thought that either they were obliged yearly to come twice, that is, on the Passover and Feast of Tabernacles, for the Pentecost being so near to the Passover, they must be excused for that, or else some Years they were to come up only once,

* *Jos. B. J. l. 6. c. 45. Ed. Frob.*

† *Lyra* in *Exod. xxiii. 17. Deut. xvi. 16.* Tamen cum illis qui erant remoti a *Jerusalem* aliquando dispensabatur, de duabus vicibus, scil. Pentecoste, & Festo Tabernaculorum, &c.

that is, at *Easter*; on others twice, that is, at *Easter*, and the Feast of Tabernacles; for every seventh Year the Law was to be read on that Feast; so that those who were any thing remote, were never bound to go up at Pentecost *. But besides the Males obliged to attend on the three Festivals, the devout Women and Children, not yet under the Obligation, went up to the Passover out of voluntary Devotion: So *Elkanah's* Wives went to the yearly Sacrifice at *Shilo*. So the Parents of our Saviour went up to *Jerusalem* every Year at the Feast of the Passover. Now those Interpreters, who are concerned to make *Joseph*, as touching the Law, blameless, send him up three times a Year according to the Law, and are content to have these Words understood of the blessed Virgin, that she went up but once a Year, and that at the Passover. Though others understand them of both our Saviour's Parents, as if they had gone up but once; and *Lyra*, according to his Notion mentioned above, observes that *Galilee* was remote, and therefore within the Dispensation for two of the three Feasts; and indeed the Expression of *St. Luke* does not easily admit of any other Construction. And the Words of the Book of *Samuel* do as plainly intimate, that *Elkanah* himself, tho' a *Levite*, went up to *Shilo* but once a Year: *This Man*, says the Text, *went up out of his City yearly to worship in Shilo*. And after his Wife had vow'd, and he and his Family had return'd home, it follows; *Wherefore it came to pass, when the Time was come about, after Hannah had conceived, that she bare a Son, and called his Name Samuel; and the Man Elkanah and all his House went up to offer unto the*

* *Ystella* in *Deut.* xvi.

Lord the yearly Sacrifice and his Vow. So that by this Relation *Elkanah* seems not to have gone up to *Shilo*, from the Time *Hannah* vowed in the Temple, until after the Birth of *Samuel*, that is the Space of a whole Year. But however these Places may be understood, it is allowed by all, that the Passover was the chiefest for Solemnity and Resort of Worshippers, of all the Feasts of the *Jews*, and therefore a Computation of the Strangers at *Jerusalem* on a Pentecost, from the extraordinary Numbers said once to have been at a Passover, must be very fallacious; for the same Calculation cannot serve both. Now lest this Argument should lose any thing of Advantage by being too diffuse, the Force of it shall be contracted into less Compass, that it may be the easier observ'd. I. Because three Millions are reported to have been at one Passover, therefore every Passover had as many. Many will be apt here to deny the Consequence; but let it pass: And then the Argument proceeds farther; If so many resorted to the Passover, then the same Number came up at Pentecost; this is hard to grant: But who can deny any thing to such a Disputant? To go on therefore; If three Millions were present at Pentecost, on which three thousand Souls were converted, therefore not above a hundred and fifty could belong to *Jerusalem*; because in *Hecatæus's* Time, that City had but a hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants. Wonderful! Who can find in his Heart to deny any thing so consequential? But had that City received no Increase from the Time of *Hecatæus* to that of *Nero*? *Josephus* mentions several Improvements it had under the *Asmonean* Kings, whose Family united the Priesthood and the Crown, and under whom this sacred Metropolis could not but receive

receive great Advantage *. Afterwards we have an Account that the old Walls could not hold it, and the Inhabitants multiplied so much, that they were forced to build without the Gates; and these new Buildings in the Time of *Claudius*, were so considerable, as to make, as it were, another City. Yet our Author keeps to his old Computation, which is just as if the Inhabitants of *London* were to be computed by what they were about three hundred Years ago. It may seem perhaps no less ridiculous to refute such an Argument, than it was to make it: Yet because our Author suspects even this Number in *Hecatæus* as too great, I must take the Liberty at least-wise to explain this Matter a little more. Mr. *Clarkson*, as we have observ'd before, suspects his Author to have over-reach'd in his Number of the Citizens at *Jerusalem*, because he had done so in the Measure of the City, of which he makes the Circuit to be fifty Furlongs; whereas *Josephus* says it was but thirty-three, and the Circumvallation of *Titus* to be thirty-nine. And to shew the Number of Inhabitants in *Jerusalem* could not be great even in the Beginning of the last War, he observes, that when twelve thousand were slain in *Jerusalem* in one Night, the Loss is represented as though the greatest Part of the Citizens had been destroyed †. As to the Circuit of *Jerusalem*, I cannot conclude *Hecatæus* to have over-reached, till I can be sure there is no Fault in the Copies of *Josephus*, or that our Author did rightly understand him. For first *Josephus* does not seem to agree with himself in this Matter,

* B. J. lib. 5. c. 13.

† *Jos.* B. J. l. 4. c. 20.

when in the same Chapter, giving an Account of the three Walls that encompassed the City, he makes the third to have ninety Towers, consisting of twenty Cubits diameter each, and between every one of those Towers a Curtain of two hundred Cubits; which being sum'd up, make near fifty Furlongs in Compass. * Or if we take *Villalpandus* his Reckoning, who allows but four hundred Cubits to a Furlong, we shall have fifty Furlongs compleat. Nor was this the whole Compass of the City, for this Wall was not drawn round the other two on every Part; but where the City ended in inaccessible Precipices, there was but one Wall †, and then it must be, by so much, more than Fifty Furlongs: so the Particulars and the Sum total of this Author not agreeing, there must be some Mistake in the Calculation. But several learned Men have endeavoured to reconcile these Passages, among whom, *Villalpandus* seems to have succeeded best; who having shewed the right Order and Situation of the three Walls out of *Josephus*, against the Mistakes of *Adricomius* and others, concludes, with great Probability, that the City, which is said to have been thirty-three Furlongs about, was the old City, contain'd within the first Wall of sixty Towers: And if the Distance betwixt these was equal to that of the third Wall, the Sum will be exactly according to *Josephus* his Measure. Now to confirm this Conjecture, it must be observed that the Town about which *Titus* drew his *Vallum* was only the old: for the lower Town and two of the three Walls were taken

* App. Urb. Templ. P. 1. Lib. 2. C. 21.

† *Joseph.* ut supr.

by the *Romans*, and ruined before that Circumvallation was begun, which was according to *Josephus* thirty-nine Furlongs; and it was this which was properly called the City, the other Accessions being accounted for Suburbs, and so called by *Josephus*. Nor can we imagine either that the *Romans* would leave so great a Part of the City as that which was destroyed, in the Possession of the *Jews*, or contrive their *Vallum*, which was to keep them in, at so great a Distance from the remaining Wall or Place of Attack, as it must needs be, if the Circumvallation encompassed that Part which was before ruined by the *Romans* and quitted by the *Jews*. Now if *Josephus* be thus understood, he is not only reconciled to himself, but to that Character of Greatness which *Pliny* gives *Jerusalem*, of being far the most famous City, not only of *Judea*, but of all the *East* *. *Aristeas*, if he deserves any Credit, makes it forty Furlongs about †, and there are those that represent it as quadrangular, three Miles in Length, and something less in Breadth; which is indeed the most liberal of all Calculations, but has no great Authority to vouch it: However, by the Reckoning of *Josephus*, *Jerusalem* was more than fifty Furlongs in Compass; and the Precipices being reckoned, where there was but one Wall, many Furlongs more may remain to be added to that Sum. What is suggested to lessen the Number of the People of *Jerusalem*, from the Complaint made to the *Idumeans* ‡, that they had destroyed in one Night almost all the People, when there

* *Plin. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.*

† *Arist. de 70 Inter.*

‡ *Jos. B. J. Lib. 4. C. 20.*

was but twelve thousand slain, is not exact enough to ground any Calculation on. For the *Idumeans* slew above twenty, perhaps above forty Thousand while they were in *Jerusalem*, as *Josephus* reckons *; for they slew the first Night they were let in eight thousand five hundred Persons, not in the City, but about the Temple: and not content with this Slaughter, they turned upon the City, and killed every one they met; nor did it end thus, but they still went on and butchered the People like a Herd of unclean Beasts: These are without Number. Afterwards having taken many Persons of Condition, and young Men, they bound them and put them into Custody, hoping to gain them to their Side; but they all chose rather to die than join with their Enemies, whereupon they were tortured and killed †: Those who were taken into Custody in the Day, were slain and cast out in the Night, to make Room for others the Day following, who were also destroyed in the same manner, and the Number of those young People of Quality destroyed in that manner is said to be twelve Thousand. ‡ Such was the Slaughter made by the *Idumeans* in *Jerusalem*, that it is no Wonder if those who had a mind to be rid of their Company should represent the whole People as destroyed: And considering the prodigious Number slain by the Factions in that City, it is a Wonder there should be any more remaining for new Calamities; and yet after this Loss, the People of *Jerusalem* were so formidable, that *Josephus* commends the Conduct of *Vespasian*, for

* *Jos.* Lib. 4. C. 17, 18, 19.

† Νέκς κ' ἐυγενῆς.

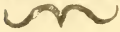
‡ Μύριοι κ' διχίλιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν νέων ἔτω διεφθάρησαν.

not adventuring to attack it at that Time, when his Officers urged him to march his Army thither, that so the Factions might have yet more Leisure to weaken one another: whereas, if the People were in a manner all killed, he had no reason to apprehend any Opposition. Now should all this Calculation be allowed, and *Jerusalem* reduced to the narrowest Circuit, and the lowest Reckoning, yet I cannot see what Benefit can redound to the Notion of Congregational-Episcopacy; for we do not read of any great Accession of Profelytes to the Christian Faith on any of the three Feasts, except one, on that of *Pentecost*, when three thousand Souls were gained, but since that there were many *added daily to the Church*: There were five thousand converted at a time; and after this, *Believers were the more added to the Church, Multitudes both of Men and Women. And after this the Word of God increased, and the Number of Disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great Company of the Priests were obedient to the Faith, Acts v. 14, and vi. 7.* These Accessions are no where said to consist of out-lying *Jews*, nor to come in upon solemn Times, but *daily*, and all this to fall out within the Compass of a Year.

IN short, to sum up the Argument, all the Endeavours to deduct from the Number of Converts expressed by *St. Luke* can have no Place in the Church of *Jerusalem*: For, 1. All that were converted on *Pentecost* are said to continue (in the Apostle's Doctrine) in Fellowship, and breaking of Bread, and in Prayer; that is, to stay in *Jerusalem*, at least for some Time. 2. The five Thousand added to these, according to the Circumstances of the Story, and the Exposition of all the antient Writers, will afford

no Occasion for any Deduction. 3. The Increase, of which the Numbers are not expressed, may reasonably be presumed no way inferior to the other, where the Number is set down; but if we observe the Expressions, seem to surpass them. For when five Thousand were converted, it is said, that many of those who heard the Word believed; if the Number had not followed, this would have passed for a little Matter with our Author: But in other Places it is said, that great Multitudes both of Men and Women and a great Number of the Priests were obedient to the Faith. 4. While the Apostles continued in *Jerusalem*, we have reason to believe the Church was still increasing; and the People being generally of their Side, upon the Account of the Miracles they wrought, so as to give a Check to the Rulers, and to restrain them from persecuting the Apostles; it cannot be well doubted but the Apostles improved this good Disposition to a perfect Conversion. 5. Besides the preaching of the Apostles, the Influence of the Converts (such of them I mean as were Men) upon their Families could not fail of having great Effect, and of making no small Addition to the Sum of Believers; the Authority the Masters of Families had over them among the *Jews* being very great, and the Submission of Wives and Children to them in that Nation being very implicit: it being the received Custom of the *East*, as *De la Valle* observed, that the Women and Children should accommodate themselves to the Father of the Family in Matters of Religion, tho' the Women had before they married been bred up to other Rules *. 6. That the Multi-

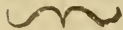
* Letter 17 from *Baghdad*.



tude converted could have no Convenience in *Jerusalem* of meeting in one Assembly. The Apostles went from House to House κατ' οἶκον, i. e. in several Houses there were several religious Assemblies, and so consequently several Congregations, so that the Multitude, though it might in a very great Theatre or Temple have come together; yet for want of such Accommodation, began in the Diocesan Way, and dispersed into several Assemblies, which still made up but one Church.

IF we descend from Scripture-times to those which immediately followed, at least to those Times in which Independency is supposed to have flourished, we shall find *Tertullian* a Writer of the second Century, making Mention of an infinite Number of Christians in every Place in general: The Numbers of them in his early Age were well nigh the greater Part of every City; for so he tells the persecuting *Scapula*, who was not to be jested with*. And again, to all the *Roman* Magistrates, in his Apology, he glories in the Multitudes of his Profession thus: “ We are of Yesterday, (says he) yet every
“ Place is filled with us, your Cities, the Islands,
“ the Forts, your Corporations, the Councils,
“ the Armies, the Tribes, and Companies; yea,
“ the Palace, Senate, and Courts of Justice:
“ your Temples only have we left you free;
“ should we go off and separate from you,
“ you’d stand amazed at your own Desolation,
“ be affrighted at the Stop and Deadness of
“ Affairs amongst you, and you’d have more

* Tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major cujusq; civitatis. *Tertul. ad Scap.* C. 2. P. 86.



“ Enemies than Subjects left you * : ” An incomprehensible Account sure, with Mr. *Norman's* good Leave, if the biggest City in the Empire had no more than a single Congregation in it. Let me add a Hint or two from the excellent *Eusebius* to the same Purpose. That accurate Historian, when he speaks in general of the primitive Christian Churches in every City and Country about the Close of the Apostolick Age, uses such singular Terms to express the Multitudes and Numbers of them, as any impartial Reader must needs confess do rather denote them to be Hosts and Legions, than any such thing as mere parochial Assemblies †. His Words are hardly to be rendered in our own Tongue ; for *the greatest Number of thronged and crowded Societies of them* are an imperfect Translation of his Original (which I have set in the Margin) and his Comparison for them is this, *That they were like heaped Grain upon a Barn-Floor.* It is strange if so exact an Author as this should strain for such superlative Words as these are, to describe only a common Congregation by. Yet thus he represents (we see) the State of Christian Churches, at the Entrance as it were of that Period of Time to which our Adversaries appeal ; and before he comes to the End of his Third Century, he confutes, (I think even

* Hesterni fumus & vestra omnia implevimus; urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forama; sola vobis reliquimus templa. *Tertul. Apol.* p. 33. cap. 37. Si tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis ——— proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, & stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis. *Ibid.*

† Καὶ πάντα ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθύσεις ἑλλων ὁ δίκην, μυριάσδεσι καὶ ἑκατομμύσις ἀδελφῶν ἐκκλησίαι συνεθήκεσαν. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 3.*

to a Demonstration) the whole Congregational or Independent Hypothesis at once: For speaking of the peaceful and blessed Times that the *Christians* enjoyed after the *Valerian* Persecution ended, and before the *Dioclesian* began, which was the last forty Years of the third Century, “ Who can describe (says he) the innumerable “ Increase and Concourse of them? the Numbers of Assemblies in each City? and the “ extraordinary Meetings in their Houses of “ Prayer?” so that not content with the Buildings they had of old, they founded new and larger Churches throughout every City *. Which agrees directly with what *Optatus* † (the holy Bishop of *Milevis*) tells us, that when *Dioclesian* destroyed the Christian Churches, (which was but five Years after the third Century at the most) there were above forty *Basilicæ*; that is publick Places for Christian Worship, in the single City of *Rome*. When were these forty Churches built or dedicated to this holy Use? Were none of them (can we imagine) erected so much as five or six Years before? Had the Christians enjoyed forty Years of Peace and Favour with the Emperors, just at that Time, and not provided so much as two or three such Houses of God for their solemn Assemblies, and yet had Occasion for forty of them, and actually had them too before the fatal Edict was issued out, that levelled them all to the Ground? Why

* Πῶς δ' ἂν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάδας ἐκείνας ἐπιωαγαράς; ἢ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθεσιμῶτων, τὰς τε ὀπισήμους ἐν ταῖς περσευκτηίοις συνθεσιμῶσι; ἂν δὲ ἕνεκα μισθῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς παλαιαῖς οἰκοδομίαισι ἀρχαῖοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ δημοσίων ἀνίσταν Ἐκκλησίας.

† *Optat. de Schism. Donat. Lib. 2. P. 39.*

truly Mr. *Norman* tells us, Page 69 of his *Defence*, &c. That Mr. *Clarkson* hath considered the Number of Officers which belonged to the Church of *Rome* when *Cornelius* was Bishop there, which was about the Middle of the third Century, and also the Number of the Poor, according to *Eusebius's* Account; and made it very probable, that there were not so many belonged to that Church as to divers of our Parishes: And for a Proof of this he refers us to the 5th Chapter of Mr. *Clarkson's* *Primitive Episcopacy*; which I will take care to have Recourse to, as soon as I have told the Reader what Account *Eusebius* hath given us of this Church at the Time before-mentioned. This is contained in a Letter from *Cornelius* himself to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*,* and it is as follows, “ There were forty-six Pres-
 “ byters, seven Deacons, seven Subdeacons, Clerks
 “ forty-two, Exorcists, Readers, together with
 “ Janitors, fifty-two; Widows and indigent
 “ Persons, which could not maintain themselves,
 “ above a thousand and five-hundred: All these
 “ the Grace and Bounty of the Lord maintained.
 “ As to the Number of Officers, Mr. *Clarkson*
 “ fancies the Shew will vanish, if it be confi-
 “ dered, that it was the Custom of those antient
 “ Times to multiply Officers beyond what was
 “ necessary; yea, so much, that, as *Nazianzen*
 “ tells us, the Officers were sometimes as many
 “ as they had the Charge of.” It might be excusable in Mr. *Baxter* to confound Times of Persecution with Times of Settlement, and the Middle of the third Century with the latter End of the fourth: for he was too hasty to be curious, and looked not to the Date of the Table; so it

* *Euseb.* Lib. 6. C. 43.

happened upon a Time, or shortly after, he was contented. But from Mr. *Clarkson* somewhat might be expected more exact: What, will *this Shew of Probability vanish*, and no Likelihood that there were more Congregations in *Rome* than one remain from six and forty Presbyters in *Cornelius's* Time, because it was the Custom of *Nazianzen's* Times to multiply Officers beyond what was necessary! forty-six Presbyters were never accounted necessary to one Congregation, when in the most prosperous Times of the Church; nor can any Instance be given of so many relating to one Assembly in any Age accounted antient, tho' it might be fashionable then to multiply Church-Officers. But for this we are at a greater Certainty: for *Cornelius* assures us, in the Letter which I referred to before, that this Number was not for State, nor for Form, without Use and Necessity; but exceeding necessary, and that upon the Account of an infinite and numberless People. And if the Multitude of Christians in *Rome* was then so great as to require forty-six Presbyters, we may make some Guess at the Proportion they might have to the People of *Rome*, after it had been intirely converted, in the fifth and sixth Centuries; for in those Times the Presbyters of *Rome* were scarce a third Part more than those in the Catalogue of *Cornelius*, as we may gather from the Subscriptions of the Presbyters in the *Roman Council* *: Nay, in one Synod under *Gregory* the Great † there are but thirty-four Presbyters that subscribe. I do not intend to say, that two thirds of that City was then Christian; but

* Synod. Rom. 1. sub Symmach. subf. Pref. 67.

† Greg. Reg. L. 4. Ep. 44.

the Christians of that Place under *Cornelius* seem to be at least two Thirds, in respect of all *Rome* in After-ages, when it was much diminished from its antient Greatness, and when it seems to have no more then seventy Parish Presbyters. The Number therefore of forty-six Presbyters, all necessary for so great a People as the Christians of *Rome* then were, makes it evident, notwithstanding the frivolous Exceptions of our Author, that the Believers of that City could not all assemble together upon any religious Occasion, and that the Church there must consequently be distributed to several Parishes and Congregations. As to what relates to the Numbers of the Poor mentioned in *Cornelius's* Letter, Mr. *Clarkson* saith he knows not how to compute the Numbers of the *Roman* Church by them better than by observing what Proportion there was betwixt the Poor in this and others in other Places. But the Ground of this Exception is a Mistake: For *Cornelius* does not say, that the Number of all the poor Christians in *Rome* was but fifteen Hundred; but that so many were maintained by the publick Stock of the Church, besides the necessary Officers. Now there might be many more Poor maintained, some by Relations, others by private Charities; and it is plain from the Account that *Chrysoptom* gives of the Poor of *Antioch*, and the Number in the Church-Book, that those that were maintained by the Church were but a small Part, in Comparison of the whole Number of the Poor. For exhorting the rich Men to contribute towards the Maintenance of the Poor, he observes how easy it would be to provide for them. "For the Church, says he, maintains many Widows, and Virgins, and Prisoners, and Sick, and Clergy." The Number of those

upon the Roll maintained by the Publick Stock of the Church is about three Thousand, now the Income of the Church is scarce equal to one of the lowest of those accounted rich: if therefore but Ten such rich Men would dispose of their Estates, as the Church does, there would not be a poor Man in all *Antioch* unprovided; nay, if all the rich Men would but give a tenth Part to Charity, it would answer all Occasions. So that upon the Computation of *Chrysoptom*, the Church did not relieve above a tenth Part of the Poor; and yet this must be more in Proportion than the *Roman* Church can be supposed able to do in *Cornelius* his Time, when it had no other Revenue than the Oblations of the Faithful: whereas in *Chrysoptom's* Time, besides these, it was endowed with great Possessions, and was maintained from the Rents or Product of her Estate; the Capital remaining undiminished, as he observes in the same Place. Our Author having laid this false Foundation, proceeds to build upon it in this manner, “That at *Constantinople* *Chrysoptom* computes the Poor to have
 “ been half as many as all the other Christians
 “ there, and that at *Antioch* the same Father
 “ supposes the Poor a tenth Part:” The first is unreasonable, and without Example in any City; the latter multiplies the Poor that stand in need of Relief, I think, beyond what we can find in any rich City, such as *Antioch* was. Yet upon this Foot let us reckon. The fifteen hundred *Roman* Poor we will suppose, according to *Chrysoptom*, to be the tenth Part of the poor Christians of the Place. The Sum will be fifteen Thousand; these multiplied by Ten, will make an hundred and fifty Thousand: and this may be supposed about a seventh Part of the Inhabitants in *Rome*, of all Ages and
 Condi-

Conditions. And considering the great Ostentation which *Tertullian* makes of the Numbers of the Christians in the Beginning of this Age, and the great Increase they received in the Time intervening between *Tertullian* and *Cornelius*, under *Alexander*, *Severus*, and *Philip*, I cannot but think I set their Proportion too low, when I reckon them but a seventh Part. I cannot pass by one Passage in the same Homily of *Chrysoptom*, that I cannot reconcile with his Supposition, that makes the Poor of *Antioch* the tenth Part of the City. When he had divided the People into ten Parts, he makes one to consist of rich Men, another of very poor Men, the other eight to consist of such as had Competence of Estate, and were neither very rich nor very poor: Yet having made this Distribution, he says, that if the Poor were divided between those who were rich, and those who were not poor, there would not one poor Man fall to the Share of fifty or a hundred; whereas, according to his Distribution, there will be a poor Man left between nine. I cannot think *Chrysoptom* so little skilled in Arithmetick, as to commit a Mistake in so obvious a Reckoning. I had rather suspect the Reading in this Place of the *tenth Part*, which with small Variation may be reconciled with the following Computations. But having not the Countenance of any Critick, nor the Authority of any Copy, I am content to leave it as I find it. However, as it stands, it does but small Service for the diminishing of Christians in ancient Times.

MR. *Baxter*, Mr. *Cotton*, and Dr. *Owen* do all of them appeal to the Church as it was in *St. Cyprian's* Time. Mr. *Baxter* saith, that in *St. Cyprian's* Time the *African* Churches were the

the best-ordered Churches in the World, and that the Bishops there were the most godly, faithful, peaceable Company of Bishops since the Apostles Times. And of the following Times he speaks thus: "Most of the *African Councils* were the best in all the World; many "good Canons for Church-Order were made "by this and most of the *African Councils*, no "Bishops being faithfuller than they *." Let us therefore examine how the Case stood in the Times to which those Writers appeal. St. *Cyprian* complains in his 28th Epistle, that many of the Clergy were absent, and that the few that remained were hardly sufficient for their Work. And elsewhere he acquaints us, that altho' many stood firm in the Time of Persecution, yet the Number of the Lapsed was so great, that every Day Thousands of Tickets were granted by the Martyrs and Confessors in their behalf for their Reconciliation to the Church: And in one of those Tickets sometimes might be comprehended twenty or thirty Persons, the Form being *Communicet ille cum suis* †. In an Epistle to the People of *Carthage* in his Absence, he complains that some of the Presbyters did not reserve to the Bishop the Honour that was due to his Chair, and Place. There were likewise at *Carthage*, while St. *Cyprian* was Bishop of that *See* several Churches. Besides the *Cathedral*, called *Basilica Major* & *Restituta*, in which the Bishops always sat, as *Victor Vitenfis* saith, *lib. 1.* There were several

* *Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches* cleared, p. 98, 99. *Owen's Vindication of Nonconformity*, p. 41. *Baxter's Plea for Peace*, p. 6. *Church History*, p. 37, 57, and 73.

† *Lib. 3. Ep. 5. & 15. & 11.*

other considerable ones, in which St. *Augustine* often preached when he went to *Carthage*, as the *Basilica Cerebinæ*; which, *Victor Vitenfis* saith, was likewise called the *Scillitanorum*: the *Basilica Petri & Pauli* & *Basilica Novarum*. I do not question but that there were many more, for the same Writer saith, that when *Geisericus* entered *Carthage*, he found there the Bishop and a great Multitude of Clergy, all which he immediately banished, and that without the City there were two great Churches, one where St. *Cyprian* suffered Martyrdom, and the other where his Body was buried, at a Place called *Mappalia*. In all he reckons up about 500 Clergy in the Church of *Carthage*, including those that were trained up to it.

HAVING briefly shewn the Reader in what manner Scripture, Church-History, and the ancient Fathers applaud the Honour of God, and do Justice to the blessed Labours of the holy Apostles, in setting forth the innumerable Souls they gained to God and his Church, in so little a Compass of Time; I shall now, without further Interruption, consider the important Observations which the learned Author of the *Enquiry*, &c. Mr. *Boyse*, and Mr. *Norman* have made upon several Passages in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, which have prevailed upon them to affirm, that there was no more than one single Congregational Church of Christians for two or three hundred Years together in the greatest City in the Christian World. The Author of the *Enquiry* begins with *Justin Martin*, and renders a Passage in his first Apology thus: *On Sunday* (says he) *all assemble together in one Place*, Πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι, *Enquiry*, Page 17. Now *Justin's*
Words

Words are these; Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὰς μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι, *On Sunday all throughout City and Country, or, to come nearer to the Greek, all throughout Cities or Countries, meet together*; and why do we think he left out these Words [*throughout Cities or Countries*] which were in the very Middle of the Sentence? Why, because those Words of the holy Martyr would undeniably shew it to be a general Account of Christian Practice in all Places of the Christian World; whereas our Enquirer's Business was to make it a particular Instance of a single Bishop's Diocese, and that all the Members of it, both in City and Country, met in one and the same Place together at once; and if it were so, then *Cities and Countries* in the plural Number would be too much for him; for if they proved any thing in that Sense, they would prove that *Cities and Countries*, indefinitely taken, where-ever there were any Christians in them, met all together every *Sunday*, and made but one Congregation; and therefore the (συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) which properly signifies, *assembling together*, tho' tis expressed in the singular Number, yet being spoken with reference to a complex Body, as it evidently is here in relation to *Cities and Countries* at large, does severally refer to each distinct Member and Part, whereof that complex Body does consist; and plainly denotes that every Part, as well one as the other, did hold an Assembly on that Day, or else the same Absurdity would unavoidably follow as before, that all made but one Assembly in the Whole. So unwarily (at least) are this holy Martyr's Words misrepresented here, to prove what they in no wise do prove, or were never intended to do. For the plain Case was this; The pious Apologist writes

to the Heathen Emperor, Senate and People, in Vindication of the persecuted Christians throughout the *Roman* Empire, and towards the Close of his Apology, sets forth the general Method of them all in the Exercise of their Religion; I say, the general Method of them all, for otherwise his charitable Plea for that Profession had been very lame and imperfect indeed, and contrary to the Tenour of his whole Apology, as is obvious to them that read it: So that his *Sunday's* Assemblies here, were a Specification of the Catholick Practice, whether in Cities or Countries, throughout the Empire, as the plural Words observed above do unquestionably imply; and forasmuch as they were Aliens to the Christian Dispensation, to whom he wrote, he neither used the peculiar Word *Bishop* or *Presbyter*, to express the *President* of their respective Assemblies by, (tho' our Enquirer frankly translates it by the former of these) but *ὁ Πρεσβυτης*, such a general Term as might instruct the Heathens he addressed to, that a Person in peculiar Authority did preside over each of them, and principally discharge the Duties of the Assembly and the Day; and what does this prove as to the Certainty of but one Congregation only in any City or Diocese?

THE next Appeal of our Author, in which he hath the Concurrence of the Writers of the same Side before-mentioned, is to several Passages in the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*. The Quotations are pretty many in Number; but the Force and Importance of them all, when they are heard, will, I conceive appear to be much the same. To the Church of *Smyrna* he writes thus: *Where the Bishop is, there the People must be; and again, It is unlawful to do any thing without*

without the Bishop *. To the Trallians thus, † There is a Necessity that we do nothing without the Bishop. And to the Philadelphians, Where the Pastor is, there the Sheep ought to follow ‡. And to the Magnesians, As Christ did nothing without the Father, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into the same Place; so he renders ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, without any other Word joined to it, that you may have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope §. Now can any Man see more in all this, than that the Bishop must be in all the Ministrations of the Church, and none can rightly partake of any of them but by him? But how? by his personal Ministry alone; yes, or else these Gentlemens Use and Inference from them will come to little indeed. But are we sure the Holy Martyr meant so too? Nothing I think can be plainer than that he did not; else how could he say, immediately before his Charge to the Church of Smyrna, of doing nothing without the Bishop, || Let that Eucharist be counted valid with you which is celebrated by your Bishop, or by such an one as he shall authorize to do it: And immediately after it again, as soon as he had told them that without the Bishop it was not lawful

* Ὅπου ἀν φανῆ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπεὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. — Οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου ἔτε βαπτίζειν, ἔτε ἀγάων ποιεῖν. Ep. ad Smyr. p. 6.

† Ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ἐστὶν ἀνευ ἐπισκόπου μὴδεν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς. Ep. ad Tral. p. 48.

‡ Ὅπου ὃ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Ep. ad Philad. p. 42.

§ Ἄνευ τῶ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων μὴδέν πράσσειτε, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ, μία δέησις, εἰς νῦν μία ἐλπίς. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 33.

|| Ἐκείνη βεβαία Ἐυχαιρία ἠγείσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ ἐπίσκοπον ἔστω, ἢ ᾧ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ad Smyr. p. 6.

to baptize or solemnize their Love-Feast, (which implies Communion too) he adds, as it were by way of Exception, *But what he* (that is the Bishop) *does approve, that is acceptable unto God* *. The Bishop's Permission and Approbation (it seems then) were, in the Holy Martyr's Sense, as good as his Act and Deed. And no less is plainly to be seen in that great Argument, by which he enjoins this dutiful Regard to the Bishop, in his Charge to the *Magnesians*; † *As the Lord* (says he) *did nothing of himself, or by his Apostles without his Father, so neither do you without the Bishops and the Presbyters.* In the Relative Part of this Comparison, we see, what our Lord did either *by himself or his Apostles* (commissioned by him) is implied to be the same Thing; and therefore in the Correlate, which answers to it, what the Church should do by the Ministry of the Bishop himself, or of the Presbyters commissioned by him, by a just Analogy of Sense, should be the same too: And for this Reason perhaps our cautious Enquirer, in quoting this Passage in this Place, left out the whole former Part of this Comparison in his Original in the Margin, and these Words, *By himself, or by his Apostles*, in his Translation of it in the Text. I need not add sure how natural and undisputed a Maxim it is, in all Acts of Government whatsoever, that the supreme Magistrate is said and owned to do what is warrantably done by his commissioned Ministers and Authority; so little does St. *Ignatius's* Language in

* Ἄλλ' ὃ ἀν' ἐκεῖν⊖ δοκιμάζει, τῆτο κ' πρὸ Θεῶ ἐυά-
γεσον. Ib.

† Ὅυτε δὲ ἑαυτῆ, ἕτε διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Ep. ad Magn.
p. 33.

this Sense, and in his own Interpretation of it, differ from the ordinary Dialect and Notion of all Mankind. That a Bishop then might and did so act by deputed Presbyters, I think is very clear, in St. *Ignatius's* own Sense of it; and this sort of Deputation so very nearly resembles even what we call *Institution* in an Episcopal Church at this Day, at least as to the exercising of ministerial Offices in it, that if the Place as well as the Office were assigned, I should scarce know what we did dispute about. And that those Primitive Bishops could and did assign to Presbyters as well a separate Place or Places to minister in, as depute them to the Ministry itself, I can bring even the learned Enquirer himself to bear witness for me; for in the 38th and 39th Pages of this very Treatise of his, which is entitled *An Enquiry, &c.* (where he gives an Account of the populous Church of *Alexandria*) he confesses, "That because 'twas incommo-
 "ous for all the People to assemble in their own
 "usual Meeting-place, which was very far from
 "their own Homes, and withal to avoid Schism
 "from their Bishop, the People asked Leave,
 "and the good Bishop *Dionysius* granted it,
 "that they should erect a Chapel of Ease."
 He might have said Chapels in the plural Number if he had pleased, for in the Historian himself there is the same Authority for it *. This Passage from *Eusebius's* History, Book the VIIth, Chapter the XIth, is represented by our Author in a very nice and arbitrary Figure, to suit the Scheme it was produced for, as much as it could handsomely do; and yet

* Κατὰ μίσησιν συναγωγαί. *Dionys.* apud *Euseb.* lib. 7. c. 11.

how little it does so, nay how directly it contradicts the Whole, is obvious to any Reader by the bare reciting of it. Here are several Assemblies of Christians under the Jurisdiction of one Bishop, officiating separately in them, and distinct Places assigned for their doing so. Let the Reader judge if this be like our Enquirer's Congregational Diocese, or can be reasonably opposed to a genuine Episcopal one, even in After-ages of the Church, and down to these Days of ours, if we will not still insist on bare Names, and overlook Things. His only *Salvò* is, that on solemn Occasions they were all to assemble still in one Church, and with their *one Bishop* together; which neither *Dionysius* himself, nor the Historian from whence he quotes it, say any thing of; and yet we know indeed, that 'twas a customary Form, by which parochial Churches, for many Ages together, used to testify their Union and Dependance upon their several Cathedrals; namely, to offer and communicate with them by proper Representatives on the greater Festivals of the Year; and how much more than that the Church of *Alexandria* ever did, (especially in St. *Athanasius's* Time, from whence our Author tells us he could bring his Proof) any Man may pretty easily conceive; since that venerable Father affirms, that the whole Region of *Marcotis**, and all the Churches in it, belonged to the Bishop of *Alexandria* alone; that the Presbyters had their several

* Ο Μαρρώτης χώρα ἡ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἐπισκόπων αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπόκεινται. Ἐκαστὴ ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μεγίστας καὶ ἀειδήμῳ δικαστῆ καὶ πλείονας. S. Athanas. Apol. 2. in oper. Vol. 1. p. 802. Ed. Colon. 1636.

Portions of it, and each of them ten or more large Villages under their particular Care. What Sort of Congregation this whole Region, with all the Christians in the great City of *Alexandria*, would make, I leave to any reasonable Man to consider. Having thus explained this familiar Phrase then, of that primitive Martyr *St. Ignatius*, (*That without the Bishop nothing should be done*) in a Sense which no way warrants the Hypothesis 'twas quoted for, and that by the unexceptionable Authority of the holy Martyr himself, and our learned Author's own Concessions, who was here applying it to quite another End; I think there is no Tittle in the fore-mention'd Citations, that does not in course fall in with the same Interpretation; unless perhaps he will say that the particular Phrases *Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*, and *Μία Δίεσις*, will not consist with this; by the former of which he concludes for certain, that the whole Diocese or Bishop's Church, assembled in one Place together; by the latter, that all Publick Prayer, and Religious Duties, were so jointly performed too. But what Necessity for this? Do these Words so evidently imply it, that the holy Father himself could have no other Meaning in them? Let the Context direct us in the Case; which, together with the Sense which approved Commentators, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, give us of the Words themselves, will help us to a fair Construction of them. In the Words immediately before these, the holy Martyr warns the *Magnesians*, to account nothing for a reasonable Service, that is done privately*. Agree-

* Ad Magnef. p. 33.

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able, no doubt, to the Apostolical Charge, *Heb. x. 25.* that *they should not forsake the assembling of themselves together*, but meet for Publick Worship under the proper Minister of their Church, to avoid Schism and heterodox Opinions, as he proceeds to explain himself presently after. Now if it had been undeniably proved by any Expressions before, that there neither was, nor ought to be, any more than one single House of Prayer, or of Publick Worship within a Bishop's Diocese, and that his personal Ministry was absolutely necessary in all Divine Offices, it might have been fairly inferr'd indeed, that they were all obliged to assemble with him in that one individual Place alone: But since the holy Martyr himself had informed us elsewhere, that the most solemn Offices of Publick Worship were *valid in themselves, and acceptable to God too*, when performed by any Person whom the Bishop should authorize and approve of for it, (as we have seen before he did) sure, if any particular Number or Society of Members in that Diocese had assembled for Publick Worship, under any Presbyter so allowed and commissioned by him to officiate for them, they had answer'd the full Import of the holy Martyr's Charge here given them, against private and clandestine Ways of Worshipping; or else I cannot see how the Bishop's Approbation and Permission of such a Person could be to any Purpose at all. Nay, if the same Presbyter (by Virtue of such Permission) could not minister in Places different from their Bishop's Church, or Cathedral of his Diocese too, our learned Author's Chapel of Ease (as he calls it) in the *Alexandrian* Church, had been no better than a schismatical Conventicle, at the least: So little can it be inferr'd from St. *Ignatius's* Phrase in this Place,

that he confined a Diocese to a single Congregation. But let us see what Construction impartial Commentators, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, have made of this Phrase, 'Επι τὸ αὐτὸ, to whose Observations I shall only premise this short and general Key to them all; that as the Phrase it self does (by no grammatical Construction whatsoever) so much denote a *Place*, as it does a *Thing in general*, according to the known Rule of all such neutral Words as this is; so in the Instances I shall mention, you will find 'tis accordingly taken and understood by them all. Thus the learned *Grotius*, explaining this 'Επι τὸ αὐτὸ, in *Acts* iii. 1. only translates it in these Words, *Circa idem tempus*, that is, *About the same Time*. And in *Beza's* Translation of the New Testament, the Note and Paraphrase upon it, *Acts* ii. 44. is this; "That the common Assemblies of the Church, with their mutual Agreement in the same Doctrine, and the great Unanimity of their Hearts, were signify'd by it *." Agreeable to which Construction of it, is what we meet with in the *Greek* Translations of *Psal.* xxxiv. 3. where that which the *Septuagint* render 'Επι τὸ αὐτὸ, is translated by *Aquila* Ὁμοθυμαδόν, that is, *with one Mind, and one Heart*. And I need not remind the Reader, of what we just now observed, that in *Justin Martyr's* Use of the Phrase, it could not be understood in the Sense that our learned Enquirer here puts upon it, without the gross Ab-

* Ita communes Ecclesiæ cætus significantur cum mutuâ in eandem doctrinam consensione, & summâ animorum concordia. Not. ad Bez. in Act. ii. 44. Vid. etiam Poli Synops. in Act. ii. 44.



furdity of bringing the Christians of whole Cities and Countries into one and the same individual Place at once. *Acts* iv. 26, 27. *Herod, Pilate, the Gentiles, and People of Israel,* were gathered against *Christ*, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, were they all in one Place, and at one Time together? How concluding that Argument must then be which proceeds upon a positive Interpretation of a single Phrase, that is indefinite in its own Nature, and determined to signify otherwise by Authors of no mean Character in the learned World, and is not suitable to the Author's own Notions from whence it is taken, neither, I shall not need to observe. But it is possible, you'll say, that *μία προσευχή*, and *μία δέησις*, that is, one Prayer and one Supplication for a whole Church, should be consistent with this Plurality of Congregations. Let us see what we mean by it, and then 'tis likely we shall argue more clearly about it: For if it should appear by the Nature of the Thing it self, and by the Use and Application which *St. Ignatius* makes of it, that it can consist so; that is all, I think, can be required in it. Now from the Nature of the Thing it self, 'tis clear that Prayer must be *one*, either in respect of the Words and Phrases which 'tis uttered or delivered in; or in respect of the Sense and Substance, the Heads or Subject Matter of which it is composed: that is, it must be *one*, either in respect of the *Matter*, or in respect of the *Form* of it; for to say it must be *one* here, upon the Account of admitting but one Place or one Person in a Diocese to offer it up, is to beg the Question which it is brought to prove; and therefore Unity in either of the other Senses, if it agrees with the holy Martyr's Sense too, is the fair Account of it. Now that it is not meant to be one in the former Sense, relating

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to the Words or Phrase of it, I suppose will readily be granted; for that would make the holy Father plainly to prescribe a stinted Form, or mere common Liturgy in the Church, which our gifted Congregational Bishops, I conceive, would scarce allow. And therefore, 2dly, it must be understood to be *one*, in respect of the Sense and Substance of it; or, in plainer Terms, it must be *Prayer*, made with strict Analogy to the one common Faith, and sound Doctrine of the one Catholick Church throughout the Christian World, as every true Christian Prayer necessarily ought to be: And in no other Sense than this, is it conceivable, I think, how even a single Bishop in a Congregational Church, could be said to offer up this *via sénois*, or one Prayer with his People, (which is here enjoined) who affects, as often as they meet together, to alter the Phrase and Language of his Devotion for them. And that this was St. *Ignatius's* Meaning in it, we may reasonably infer, 1. from the Words he immediately joins with it, *one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope*; the two latter Words imply a plain Unity in them, and yet have so diffusive a Sense as to extend to all the Congregations of the Catholick Church; and therefore why not the two former also? And, 2. We may infer it also from the Use he was then making of it, which (as I hinted before) was directly to secure them from schismatical Conventicles, and heretical Notions; and since the Bishop himself was to approve (as we have seen St. *Ignatius* himself allowed him to do) of any Minister whatsoever that should officiate for them, and thereby reserve to himself the Inspection, Visitation and Censure of them, (which is a natural Consequence of it) whatsoever Prayer the People of his Diocese should join

in, with such a commissioned and approved Presbyter as this, could never bring them into that Danger of Schism the holy Martyr here warned them against; but being orthodox, and as conformable to Christian Faith and Doctrine, as the Bishop's own could be, would, in the true Sense of the primitive Father, and to the great End for which he intended it, be that *μία δέσμις*, that one Prayer, which the Bishop and all his Diocese were to offer up to God. The next Place which our Author tries his Skill upon is in the 41st Page of St. Ignatius's Epistle to the *Philadelphians*: "The Bishop (says he) had but one Altar, or Communion-Table, in his whole Diocese, at which his whole Flock received the Sacrament from him, and that at one Time. St. Ignatius's Words are, *There is but one Altar, as but one Bishop* *." To explain which Phrase, I shall use our Enquirer's own Method, by joining to it a parallel Expression of the admirable St. Cyprian, which is so near akin to it, that it seems almost a meer Translation of it, at least 'tis a most direct and immediate Illustration of it. St. Cyprian's Words are here in the † Margin: Our Enquirer renders them thus, "No Man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new Altar, besides the *one Bishop and the one Altar*." And here I am sorry I must remark a fatal Oversight, (for I am loth to call even this *unjust Translation* by another Name) but 'tis evident that what St. Cyprian here calls a *new Priest-*

* *Ἐν θυσιασθέρῳ ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον*, &c. Ep. ad Philad. p. 41.

† Aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare & unum sacerdotium non potest. Cyp. Ep. 4. §. 4. Ed. Pamel. Ep. 43. Edit. Oxon.

hood, and *one Priesthood*, our learned Author renders by a *new Bishop* and *one Bishop*; which proves indeed that he believed it a directly parallel Place to that of *St. Ignatius*, (as it really is) because he translates both in the very same Words: But in the mean-time he so disguises this holy Father's Text, that he hides from the *English Reader's* Sight the main Key which would open the genuine Sense and Meaning of this and all such Expressions as these are; not only in these two venerable Fathers alone, but in all the Writings of primitive Antiquity besides: For the Unity of the Altar, the Unity of the Bishop, the Unity of the Eucharist, the Unity of Christian Prayer, and the very Unity of the whole Church itself, are all founded upon the common Bottom that the Unity of the Christian *Priesthood* is; and no Man ever so unlocked the Evangelical Secret of this Catholick and Christian Unity as the inimitable *St. Cyprian* hath done. So that if his short and plain (but admirable) Account of it were but duly weighed and credited, as it ought to be, we should hear but few Enquiries after the Constitution of the primitive Church, few Amusements about the fundamental Unity of it, drawn only from a scatter'd Sentence here and there, in the most uniform Records of the best and antientest Writers in it. *St. Cyprian's* brief Account of it lies in that noted Passage, so familiar to all who ever read his Works, or almost ever heard his Name: "Episcopacy,
 " (saith he, in his small Tract of *the Unity of*
 " *the Church*) is but one; a Part whereof each
 " Bishop holds, so as to be interested for the
 " Whole. The Church is also one, which by
 " its fruitful Increase improves into a Multi-
 " tude: As the Beams of the Sun are many, as
 " Branches from Trees, and Streams from a
 " Fountain;

“ Fountain ; whose Number tho’ it seems dif-
 “ persed by the abundant Plenty of them, yet
 “ their Unity is preserved by the common Ori-
 “ ginal of them all *.” Apply this plain Rule
 to all Sorts of Unities mentioned here ; and see
 first if the primitive Expressions of *one Church*,
one Altar, and *one Bishop*, do not evidently con-
 sist with as many Churches, Altars, and Bishops,
 as can be proved to be undeniably derived from
 one and the same original Institutor : The Unity
 of whose divine Power and Spirit, diffused at
 first amongst the chosen Twelve, stamps a Cha-
 racter of Unity upon all who regularly descend
 from them ; and upon every Individual, who
 only claims under, and owns his Authority from,
 and his Dependance upon such as them : nay, the
 Unity of *sundry Prayers* too, (as I have shewn
 before) by the same Analogy of Reason, may
 be owned to be such, if they all center, as to
 the Substance of them, in that original Model
 which the divine Author of Christian Prayer first
 delivered unto us, those common Articles of Faith
 and Doctrines which he obliged us all to, provided
 they be offered up by a Person duly authorized
 for such Ministerial Offices in the Church. Nor
 will the Ministration of the blessed Eucharist by
 divers Hands, or at *sundry Tables*, tho’ within
 the same particular Diocese still, differ any thing
 from the rest, if duly warranted by, and kept
 accountable to the first and principal Minister
 of that holy Ordinance, who is the rightful Bi-

* Episcopatus est unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur, quomodo Solis multi Radii, sed Lumen unum, &c. Numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copix careitate unitas tamen servatur in origine. Cyp. de Unit. Eccles. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.

shop of the whole Flock. The Plurality of Eucharists is thus made one throughout all the united Provinces and Dioceses of the Catholick Church; because in the gradual Progress of the Church, from the Beginning, both Bishops and Presbyters do all claim a Power of Commission to consecrate from one another, till they rise up to the blessed Apostles themselves, and they from Christ alone. And thus St. Ignatius's Catholick Phrase of *one Altar, one Bishop*, and the like, does no more prove the Necessity of but one Communion-Table in a primitive Bishop's Diocese, than it would do in the most extensive one of this or any former Ages, or in the largest patriarchal Province that was ever settled in the Church, provided every one who minister'd at each of them had a just Commission from their Orthodox Superiors for doing so: But what is otherwise than so, is *Altar* against *Altar* indeed, and no less than formal Schism. Let us take care then not to draw up Forces (as St. Ignatius's Words import) against the Bishop, if we mean not to withdraw our Subjection from God †. By this Account the Reader will see what the Antients truly meant, when they called a schismatical Usurpation of the Episcopal Power by the Name of a *Profane Altar*; which yet our learned Enquirer urges again and again, as a fair Argument to prove that there could be no more than one single Congregation in a whole Diocese, though the Ministers of the second, or third, or more, should never so much agree with the Bishop himself in all his Principles and Ministrations, and be even authorized and ap-

† Σπειδάσωμεν μὴ ἀντιτάσσειν τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ἵνα ᾤμεν θεῶν ὑποτάσσομεν. Ad Ephes. p. 20.

proved of by him: as St. *Ignatius* expressly tells us, a Bishop might so authorize and approve him; in which Case they were so far from being a *profane Altar*, that they were truly owned to be but one and the same †. Our Author having gleaned all the short Phrases that he found in St. *Ignatius's* Epistles that he thought gave any Countenance to his Hypothesis, and offered them at once to prove his general Proposition from Page the 17th to the 21st, gives us them all again by Retale, Page the 27th, and applies the self-same Quotations by Piece-meal to prove that each of those Churches St. *Ignatius* wrote to, were mere Congregational Churches, and no more. This makes the Bulk of Authority look great indeed, but adds not one Grain of Weight to it; and therefore the Reader will excuse me (I know) if I take no more Notice of his repeated Arguments here about *one Altar, one Eucharist, &c.* by which Repetitions he here labours separately to prove that the Dioceses of *Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philadelphia, and Trallium*, were such sort of Churches as he contends for. The Strength of all these Arguments, I conceive, I have fairly tried already; and 'tis much there should scarcely be one new one to be found, when he took the Pains to consider each of those Churches singly, and one by one.

'TIS true, to make the Diocese of *Smyrna* appear such, he adds a short Clause or two, (omitted before); " 1. That the Bishop of that Church could know his whole Flock personally by their Names*." So he translates

† Ω αν αυτος επιβραβη. Ad Smyr. p. 6.

* Εξ ονοματων παντας ζητει. Ep. ad Polycarp. p. 13.

the Place, though St. *Ignatius's* Words have no such Affirmation in them; but are only a plain Advice to St. *Polycarp* to do what the primitive Bishops always did, that is to keep the Names of every Member of his Church enrolled in what the Antients called the *Matricula* of their Church: The Occasion of the Words imply it to be so. He just before besought St. *Polycarp* not to neglect the Widows of the Church †, and immediately after desires him not to overlook so much as the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants ‡ in it: and in the Midst of this (as a Means to know the Quality, Number, and Condition of his Diocese) advises him to enquire out all by Name; that is, to get such a Register of their Names, that upon Occasion of any Object of Charity proposed to him, of any Complaint or Application made to him about any within his Care or Jurisdiction, or in case of Apostacy or Perseverance in Time of Persecution or the like, by Means of this general *Matricula* he (as the other Bishops did) might more directly know how the Case stood with them: And, which was more than all this, the Names thus entered in this sacred Record were personally intituled then to all the publick Intercessions and spiritual Blessings obtained by the Eucharistical Prayers, Oblations, and Sacraments of the whole Church; and to have their Names blotted out of this, was a constant Effect of Excommunication, and was dreaded by all that had true Veneration (as those primitive Christians had) for the holy Ordinances of God. Those who know the right Nature of the Orthodox Commemorations, and

† Χήρας μὴ ἀμελείδωσαν. P. 12.

‡ Δούλους καὶ Δούλας μὴ ὑπερηγάει. Ibid. p. 13.

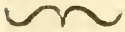
Eucharistical Offerings for the Saints, before the *Roman* Corruption so wretchedly infected them as they now do, cannot be unacquainted with this. And these were sufficient Reasons for that Apostolical Father to mind a Bishop of the Church to be careful of keeping such a necessary *Matricula* as this, and an effectual Way for *St. Polycarp* to take Care of the meanest and poorest Members of his Diocese; which the Context tells us, was the Occasion of *St. Ignatius's* using these Words: But as to the Matter of but one single Congregation being then under his Care, and that *he must personally know them all by Name*, as one Neighbour knows another, (which our Enquirer's Translation affirms of them) I think they no more imply it, than that *Augustus Cæsar* had but one Town to command, and could know every Subject he had, when (for many political Occasions) he caused them all to be enrolled, and required the State of his Empire to be brought in to him; for the Censor's Work in such a Case as that, was to give in an Estimate of the Age, Children, Family, and Estates of all the People under him, as *Tully* gives us an Account of it *.

BUT still (says our Enquirer) *Smyrna* could not have more than one Congregation in it, because, as *St. Ignatius* saith again, it was not fitting that any should marry there without the Bishop's Consent †. Now I confess it seems to me no unpracticable Matter for the same Thing

* Censores Populi ævitates, soboles, familias pecuniasque censento. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. fol. 1.

† Πρέσβει ὃ τοῖς γαμήσι, καὶ γαμημένοις μετὰ γνώμης τῆς Ἐπιτοπίου ἔγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι. Ad Pol. p. 13.

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to be done in the very City of *London*, or *York*, at this Day, if either Banns or Licences were managed with that proper Care which the Church designed they should; nay, I think it may be said, (even as Matters stand now) that either the Bishop in Person, or such as are commissioned by him, (which is much the same Thing) have a necessary Cognizance of all such solemn Contracts (before the Consummation of them) in the largest Dioceses amongst us. And this gives Opportunity, at least, to consent to or disallow of them, without reducing their Dioceses to fewer Congregations than they have all along had. Once more the Holy Martyr is summoned to bear Witness to this Congregational Cause †, and his Evidence (as 'tis managed) must be acknowledged to be a very close one; for our Author makes the Holy Martyr expressly say, that the Diocese of *Magnesia* had but barely one Church in it; and I am now to shew you how he saith it. § In his Zeal for the Unity of all the Christians there, he bids them all run one Way together, as to the Temple of God, (or as to the one Temple of God, as the old *Latin* Translation hath it, and the learned Editor from the *Florentine* Manuscript says it should be) and as to the one Altar; plainly exhorting them, (by Way of Similitude) to Christian Unity and Communion, after the Pattern of the antient Church of God among the *Jews*; who tho' they had never-so-many Synagogues, yet they all centred, and were united in that one Temple, and one Altar, which God had fixed for them at

† 'Εἰς ἓνα Θεῶν. Ignat. Ep. ad Mag. p. 34.

§ Πάντες, ὡς εἰς ἓνα συναγέγετε Θεῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, &c. Ibid.

Jerusalem. But that this comparative Way of the Holy Martyr's arguing might be the less perceived, our careful Enquirer takes no Notice of the little Particle *és*, or *as*, but quotes the Temple of God in the singular Number by itself, as clear to his Purpose, and gives it the Name of a Christian *Church*; tho' (besides this unfair Dealing in the Case) it may justly be a Question, Whether St. *Ignatius* himself, or any cotemporary Writer, ever used that Word *Nais* for a Place of Christian Worship at all, it being generally a Term in primitive Writers applyed to *Jewish* or Heathen Temples; and then judge what a Proof this must be, for but one Congregation in the whole Diocese of *Magnesia*. And now, tho' all the Churches St. *Ignatius* wrote to were eminent Cities of the *Lydian*, or Proconsular *Asia*, most of them the Seats of Publick Justice for the Province where the Roman Governor kept his Residence, and (which is infinitely more) were dignify'd with a singular Visitation by our Blessed Lord in his great Revelation to St. *John*; and therefore scarcely to be imagined such inconsiderable Churches as our learned *Enquirer* labours to represent them to us: yet, for fuller Satisfaction in the Case, he frankly appeals to *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, and *Alexandria*, (the undoubted Metropolitan Cities of the Empire) to bear Witness to the Congregational Scheme: and therefore, not to neglect him, I shall take a brief Survey of the former, *viz.* *Antioch*; as to the others, I hope I have said enough of them already.

ANTIOCH was early blessed with the glad Tidings of the Gospel: The Blood of the first *Martyr* became the Seeds of a Christian Church there, (as the Fathers took a Pleasure to speak)
for

for many Christians dispersed upon that Occasion resorted thither; and the first Account we have of their Labours is, *That the Hand of the Lord was with them, and a great Number believed and turned unto the Lord.* Tidings of this came to the Church of *Jerusalem*, where the whole College of Apostles was in Readiness to consult for them: They send *Barnabas*, a good Man, and full of the Holy-Ghost and of Faith, to improve this happy Opportunity, and the Success answered their Expectation *; for by his powerful Exhortations, *much People* (says the holy Text) *was added to the Lord.* But to forward this Work of the Lord still more, *Barnabas* travels to *Tarsus*, and joins *Saul*, the great Apostle of the *Gentiles* now; and returning with him to *Antioch*, they continue a whole Year together in that populous City, teaching much People: What a Harvest of Christian Converts those Apostolical Labourers made in that Compass of Time, assisted by all that fled thither from *Jerusalem* besides, by the Men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, † Fellow-Labourers with them, to convert the *Greeks* as well as *Jews* to the Faith; and by the several inspired Prophets, so peculiarly noted ‡ to be amongst them, I refer to the sober Judgment of all who know the Fruits of many single Sermons preached by an Apostle, at the first Promulgation of the Gospel. Two Things are sure, 1. That the Reputation and Honour of the Converts there, was such, that they laid aside the derided Name of *Nazarenes* or *Galilæans* now, and openly assumed the Name of their Lord

* Acts xi. 19. ver. 21. to ver. 27.

† Acts xi. 20.

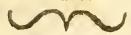
‡ Acts xi. 27. and chap. xiii. 1.

and Master, and were first called *Christians* there *. 2. That there were two distinct Sects or Parties of them, *Judaizing Christians*, zealous of the Law; and *Gentile Converts*, as earnestly insisting on their Freedom and Exemption from it: Each Party so considerable, as to call for an Apostolical Council to decide the Controversy between them †. Such was the very Infant State of this Church of *Antioch*, the Oversight whereof (Antiquity tells us) the great Apostle *St. Peter*, in a peculiar Manner, took upon himself, and for six or seven Years (at least) made it his first and special Apostolick See. After him, Church-History acquaints us with fourteen Bishops successively there, before the Heretick *Paulus* of *Samosata* was promoted to that See: In the Number of these were those Mirrors of Learning, Zeal, Fortitude, and Piety, *Ignatius*, *Theophilus*, and *Babylas*, scarce to be equalled in all the Monuments of the Church after the Apostles Time: whereof the first sat forty Years, and each of the other two thirteen Years together were the watchful and laborious Bishops of that exceeding vast and laborious Flock; as the Words of the learned *Dr. Cave* are, where he speaks of *St. Ignatius's Charge at Antioch* ‡. Yet notwithstanding all the united Labours of so many Apostles, Prophets, Holy Martyrs, and Confessors, to plant and improve a Christian Church in this renowned City of the *East*, in this *Θεόπολις* or *City of God*, as the Antients thought fit to name it, we are borne down that there never were more Believers in it for two

* *Acts* xi. 26.

† *Chap.* xv. 1, 2.

‡ *Cave*, in the *Life of St. Ignatius*, p. 108.



hundred and seventy Years after Christ, than what could meet together in one single House of Prayer, and barely make a single Congregation: One would reasonably look for very unanswerable Evidence to prove so extraordinary an Assertion, * especially since this City of *Antioch*, according to *St. Chrysoptom's* Calculation of it, for *Ignatius's* Times, contained no less than two hundred thousand Souls in it; and *Tertullian* †, as we have seen before, durst tell the persecuting *Scapula*, that the Christians then were well nigh the greater Part of every City: Yet all that is offered us to the contrary is only this, that *Paulus* of *Samosata*, the heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, after the Middle of the third Century, refused to resign the Church's House, when he was synodically deposed by a Council held there; and this Church's House, as our learned Author will have it, must needs be the only House of Prayer or Publick Worship for all that Diocese, and consequently they could make but one Congregation ‡. Now, that the Bishop of *Antioch* had a peculiar Church or House of Prayer for himself (as Bishop) more immediately to worship or officiate in, need not be disputed: and this so peculiarly the Church's House, that so long as he was rightly possessed of that, he was possessed of the Church or Diocese whereof he was Bishop; and to be legally and canonically ejected out of that, was to be ejected out of the Church, be the Diocese great or small, of more or fewer Congregations belonging to it: For so when *Constantius* the Emperor was resolved to eject

* See *Cave*, Ubi supra, p. 101.

† *Tertul.* ad *Scap.* c. 2. p. 86.

‡ *Μηδαιμῶς ἐκστῆναι τῆ Ἐκκλησίας οἴκῳ.* *Euseb.* lib. 7. c. 30.

Paulus of Constantinople out of that Bishoprick *, he ordered *Philip the Præfekt* to turn him only out of the Church, in the singular Number, and place *Macedonius* in; that is, out of that single Church where the Bishops of *Constantinople* used to reside and officiate, tho' there were several other Churches long before that built by *Constantine* in that City, and an undoubted Part of that Bishop's Diocese †: But this single Church or House of Prayer was so peculiarly the *Church's-House*, that by being dispossessed of that, he was intirely thrown out of the whole Church or Diocese of *Constantinople*; and Instances enough of this kind might be given, if Need required; but I think the Case is known to be the very same in respect of any modern Bishop's Cathedral at this Day. Yet, to come more directly to the Case before us, I think the Synod of *Antioch's* Account of *Paulus Samosatenus*, from whence this very Objection is taken, does pretty fairly prove to us, that that heretical Bishop had more Churches under him, besides that *House of the Church* which he kept Possession of; (which 'tis questioned indeed whether 'twas a House of Worship or no) because among the many Accusations of him, they tell us, he sent Presbyters out to preach up his own Praises in their Sermons to the People ‡: and who should these be, but Presbyters that officiated under him within his own Jurisdiction; for the Phrase imports no Intreaty, as if it were to Aliens not subject to him, but an Act of Authority rather, for he sent them out to do so: Nay, should they

* *Socrat. E. H. l. 2. c. 16.*

† *Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 48.*

‡ *Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. p. 229.*

have been Presbyters related to another See, they are at least an Instance of religious Assemblies held by such, in Contradistinction to the Bishops to whom they did belong; which overthrows the Enquirer's Congregational Scheme, take it in what Sense you please. I will not conceal what is farther said here, that he sent out Bishops of adjacent Villages and Cities to do the same Thing for him; to which I shall only say, that the judicious *Valesius* understands those Bishops to be no other than flattering *Chorepiscopi*, which makes them a farther Part of his own Diocese still. The *Chorepiscopi* were τ χωρεις επισκοποι, or *Country Bishops*, ordained by the City Bishops to assist them when they grew old, or when their Dioceses became very large by reason of new Conversions; but this alters not the present Case, and so the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, I hope, will lose but little of its Glory and Extent by one such unconcluding Argument. I shall wave those Arguments which our Author thinks himself intitled to from the Works of *St. Cyprian*, because I have shewn already what sort of a Bishop *St. Cyprian* was in the Church of *Carthage*; and therefore if any thing in his Works seem to favour the Congregational Scheme, 'tis certain that they that urge it with such a View, either misunderstand or misrepresent it. I shall just take Notice of a Quotation or two more under this Head, and then I shall think it high Time to dismiss it. Our Author tells us, P. 19. "That the Christians in *Tertullian's* Time and Country received the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper from the Hands of the Bishop alone *." But how do we

* Nec de aliorum manu quam Præsentium, &c. Ter de Cor. Mil. p. 121.

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know that *Tertullian's* Presidents in this Place (for that's his Word, as you see in the Margin) were the Bishops only? Now as far as our Enquirer can assure us of it, you may find in Page the 67th of this Tract of his; where we read, that *President* was one discrete Appellation of a Bishop; and yet *St. Cyprian* (says he) calls his Presbyters *Presidents* too: Mayn't we be very well assured then, do you think, That *Tertullian* (whom *St. Cyprian* familiarly called his *Master*) could mean nothing else by his *Presidents* but *Bishops* of a Diocese alone, since his great Disciple *St. Cyprian* thought no such thing of it? at least would not one think that our ingenious Author should satisfy his Reader a little with some certain Note here, that in this Passage of *Tertullian* it could be meant no otherwise, since he himself had made that Observation for us? But to be short, and to give a fair Account of the Scope of that Passage in *Tertullian*, it was thus: "*Tertullian* was contending for the Authority of *Tradition* for many common Rites then used in the Christian Church, without a Scripture Warrant for them *." Amongst these Customs, he instances a general Practice in the Church then, to communicate in the Morning different from the Time of the Institution itself; and together with that, this which we are now speaking of, That they received the Communion from the President's Hands alone; both equally common in his Days in the Christian Church: which, to make as clear an Interpretation of it as we can, I think implies neither

* Eucharistiæ Sacramentum & in tempore victûs, & omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cætibus, nec de aliorum manu quam Præsidentium sumimus. Tertul. ibid.

more nor less than this, that as the Sacrament was then generally administer'd in the Morning, so where-ever it was administer'd, the consecrated Elements were usually delivered to the Communicants, (as it is indeed most in Use now) by the Hands of them only who presided in the several Assemblies where those holy Exercises were performed; that is, I humbly conceive, by the officiating Ministers themselves: whereas in many Places, as *Justin Martyr* tells us, the Deacons used to do it. And I want to know what Appearance of Proof there is in all this, for a Bishop's personally distributing the blessed Elements to every Communicant in his whole Diocese, at one Time, and in one Place: I desire the Words and Context may be sifted, and I should be willing to sit down by the Reader's Judgment of the Case. Well, but the Bishop alone (generally says he) baptized all in his Diocese*; how much the Word *generally* implies, I need not over-nicely inquire: He *himself* again gives me an easier Solution of it, P. 55, where he tells us from the same *Tertullian*, "That
 " the Bishop hath the Right of Baptism, and
 " then the Presbyters and Deacons; but, for
 " the Honour of the Church, not without the
 " Bishop's Authority." I shall observe no more at present from this Quotation than this: That the Presbyters and Deacons might baptize in the Diocese, if the Bishop allowed them so to do; as *St. Ignatius* (we know before) admitted that Baptism to be acceptable to God, which the Bishop should approve; so that the whole of the Matter (it seems) is this, that the Bishop

* *Sub Antifite* contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo & *Pompæ*,
Tertul. de Cor. Mil. c. 3. p. 121. ut supra,

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with his Presbyters and Deacons must baptize all in the Diocese: And this is offered as a Reason, that a Diocese must be no more than a Congregational Church, because the Bishop could not otherwise do all; for as for his *generally* doing it, that is our Enquirer's own pretty Invention, for neither Quotation hath a Tittle of it. I confess, that *Contestation* mentioned by *Tertullian*, or the Form of Renunciation, which all adult *Catechumens* used in their own Persons, to testify their *forsaking* the *Devil*, the *Pomp*, &c. before they actually were baptized, 'tis probable (and possible enough too) it might be in the Presence of the Bishop himself, and the Diocese have a sufficient Plurality of Congregations in it too *; since it was a very large Space of Time (as *Tertullian* expresses it) which was set apart for this very ordering of Baptism every Year, even the fifty Days, from *Easter* to *Whitsonide*, including the Festivals, as you'll see his Account of it in the Margin shews.

It is a hard Task to attend such minute Particulars, when I have produced before such general Rules, as might answer all at once: But I am willing to please. He tells us farther then, that *Justin Martyr* assures us, the Bishop was common Curator and Overseer of all the Orphans, Widows, Diseased, in a Word, of all that were needy and indigent; and thence infers, that the Diocese could not be very large,

* Diem baptismo solennem paschapræstat exinde Pentecoste, ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est, quo & Domini Resurrectio inter Discipulos frequentata est. *Tertul. de Bapt. c. 19.* Ed. Rigal. Lutet. 1641.

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Now the seeming Force of this Argument does not lie in *Justin Martyr's* Words, but in the discreet manner of wording the Inference from them, with a little Help in the Translation: The holy Martyr said just before, that the Collection of the People's Alms was deposited in their President's Hands, and immediately subjoins, that he took Care to relieve all kind of distressed Persons (there mentioned), out of the Offerings, to be sure, that were so entrusted with him. Our Enquirer infers, that he personally did this; by which he would have us understand, that all whom the Church's Charity relieved, the Bishop *personally* visited, inspected every individual Case from first to last himself alone, and distributed Relief to the poor Sufferers with his own Hand; for here the Stress of all lies, which must necessarily prove them to be so few; and to give a better Colour to this Interpretation, he finds out a noted Parish Term for this Episcopal Almoner, and translates him an *Overseer*. Now let the common Sense of all Mankind judge for us, if any publick Trust of this Nature was ever understood to be necessarily executed so in any Sort of Society whatsoever. I believe *Justin Martyr* himself, or any other Christian Writer besides him, would have ventured to have said as much or more, than all we have said here, of *St. Paul's* Care in treasuring up and distributing the Alms of many Christian Congregations for the Relief of all his

* Το συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιμερεῖ ὀφθαλμοῖς τε καὶ χερσίν, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλαν αἰτίαν λεπτομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἔσσι ξένους, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν χρεῖα ἔσσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. *Just. Mar. Apol. 2. p. 99. Edit. Colon. 1686.*

Churches: And yet in the Sense we here contend for, he had succoured but a poor Number of the Whole, and been but a small Almoner in the Matter, if what he obtained of the several Churches to collect what the Presbyters and Elders did by his Order in it, and the Messengers of their own too, which he allowed to distribute it for him, had not been imputed to his own Person, as common Governor and Guardian for them all. And why should it then be so impracticable a Thing, as is here pretended, for any single Person to take Care of distressed Christians in more than a single Congregation? Besides, the Charity of the Church in those Days, was, among other Uses, to be employed for Relief of banished and captive Brethren, in Mines, in Islands, in remotest barbarous Countries: And in what Sense can we imagine the Bishop could personally do all this? And yet what follows, I should less expect to meet with from so judicious a Hand. † For he observes in no less than seventeen or eighteen Instances produced together, that when the ancient Church Writers give an Account of several publick and solemn Acts of Discipline in a Diocese, (as Censures, Excommunications, Absolutions, Elections, Ordinations, or the like) they tell us, they were done before the whole Church, before the Multitude, before all the People, by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood, with the Knowledge, and in the Presence of the People; and from hence concludes, that all the whole Diocese met together in one Place upon these Occasions, and consequently were no more than could make one single Congre-

† See *Enquiry*, &c. p. 22, 23, 24.

gation. And here I cannot but observe,
 1. That this singular Construction of such obvious and familiar Forms of Speech as these are, bears very hard upon the common Sense and Language of all Mankind: Can no publick Act of civil Justice or solemn Ministration in the Church amongst us, be said to pass in the Face of the Country, before all the People, openly, and in the Sight of all Men, nay, in the Face of the whole World, as some will think it no Absurdity to say, unless the Matter of Fact will answer to the very Letter of the Phrase? Are not all publick or solemn Acts of Church or State (as to Discipline and Government) familiarly distinguished from any others by such a Latitude of Expression as this, and no otherwise taken by any Man, that ever I heard of, than that a general Liberty is given to all, who either can or will, or are concerned to be present at them, to come and offer what they think material; to judge or bear Witness of the Regularity and Justice of what is done? And if every individual Member of each respective Society were expected to be personally present at such Solemnities as these, neither Courts, nor Halls, nor Cathedrals, were ever yet erected that could answer the Occasions which the Church or State would have for them; and yet no *English* Author, I am persuaded, would think it an Impropriety to say, that such publick Acts of Law or Discipline as these, were done in the Presence, Sight and Cognizance of the whole Country, Church, or People; and if no Exceptions, but rather Acclamations were made, (as is not unusual upon several Occasions of this Nature) they would say they were done with the general Consent, Suffrage and Approbation of them all. But, 2dly, that

that other Way of Arguing bears no less hard upon the very Language of the holy Scriptures themselves; and therefore there is little Reason to fasten it on the Writings of the primitive Fathers, who were the true Guardians and Asserters of them. What more familiar Phrase in the whole History of the Law delivered by *Moses*, and during all the Time of his Government, than that *Moses* himself *spake to all the Congregation of Israel, whatsoever the Lord commanded him*; nay, even in the Ears of all the Congregation of *Israel*, he is said to speak all the Words of that Song, which he left for a Testimony amongst them *. In what Sense do we conceive he himself could be said to speak in the hearing of so numerous a Host as the Children of *Israel* then were? At different Times, do we think? or Tribe by Tribe, and by Piece-meals in his own Person? No, he himself gives us a better Key for the understanding such Phrases as these: For at the 28th Verse immediately foregoing, *Gather unto me* (says he) *the Elders of the Tribes, and the Officers, that I may speak these Words in their Ears, and call Heaven and Earth to record against them*. So that it plainly appears, that whatsoever *Moses* spake in such a Manner, and in such an Audience, as was sufficient to convey his Words and Precepts to all the Tribes of *Israel*, tho' not immediately from his own Lips, *That* the holy Prophet himself thought not improperly expressed, when he said afterwards, that he spoke then to the *whole Congregation of Israel*. And if we can conceive any literal Way of interpreting

* Exod. xxxv. 1, 4. Deut. v. 1. — xxix. 2, &c. Deut. xxx. 31. See Matt. iii. 5. Joh. xii. 19. Acts xvii. 5, &c.

these, and many such-like Expressions in the holy Bible, so that six hundred thousand Men should at once be instructed by the Ministry of one Man, we need dispute no more about the greater or lesser Numbers in the Diocese of a primitive Church, since one such extraordinary Comment as that would answer all for us. But, 3dly, To argue more directly *ad hominem* in this Case: If that Way of Reasoning be right, then it will prove the Dioceses of latter Ages, as well as the ancientest of them all, to be but mere Congregational Churches too: Compare the Times and Phrases, and you'll find it to be so. Our Enquirer tells us, that *Sabinus* was elected Bishop of *Emerita* by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood. This was in the third Age. Now *Theodoret* tells us, that *Nectarius* was made Bishop of *Constantinople* by the Suffrage of the whole City too; and *Flavianus* made Bishop of *Antioch*, the whole Church, as it were with one Voice, giving their Suffrage for him. And this was towards the latter End of the fourth Age †. The like says *Platina* of *Gregory* the Great, that he was made Bishop of *Rome* by the unanimous Consent of all: And again, All the People chose him, says *Gregory* of *Triers* ‡; and this at the very Close of the sixth Age. The learned Enquirer again tells us, from an *African* Synod in 258, That Ordinations should be done with the Knowledge, and in the Presence of the People; that so they might be just and lawful, being approved by the Suffrage and Judgment of all; and accordingly that St. Cy-

† Theod. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 211. Paris 1673.

‡ Plat. in Vit. Greg. & Gref. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 10. c. 1.



prian consulted his People so: And from hence he infers, that his Diocese could be no more than one Congregation. How the Matter stood as to this Point I have shewn sufficiently already, and therefore, as I promised, I will not tire the Reader with a Repetition of it: And if this Quotation had referred to this Father alone, I should have passed it by; but as it appeals to the Determination of a whole Synod, 'tis fit that some Notice should be taken of it. I observe then that the *Roman* Presbyters, in their Letter to *Honorius* the Emperor, (which was in the fifth Century) speak just the same Thing in relation to *Boniface* their Bishop, whom they chose and consecrated in such a manner. “ On a set Day “ (say they) calling all to an Assembly, we “ went to a Church we had all agreed upon: “ and there consulting with the Christian People, we chose him whom God had ordered; “ for by the Applause of all the People, and “ the Consent of the best in the City, we pitched “ upon the venerable *Boniface*, a Man ordained “ and consecrated by divine Institution.” Here’s an Election and Ordination in one certain Place, in a general Assembly of the Church, Consultation with and Applause of all the People in it: and yet our learned Enquirer is very well assured (I doubt not) that there were many Congregations in the Church of *Rome* at that Time; and therefore what Proof such Arguments can be, that there were no more than one in the third Century, I shall leave to himself to judge. I must beg the Reader’s Patience whilst I consider one Argument more of this learned Author’s, which is indeed a very pretty and popular one; but is so far from having any Force or Evidence in it, that ’tis taken from the Sound alone, and not from the Sense of a single Word. “ The

“ Antients (says he) frequently denominated their Bishop’s Cure by the Greek Word *Παροικία*. The modern *English* use that Word now, to express a *Parish* by (approaching very near in Sound indeed to one another.)” And hence he concludes it very probable at least, that a Bishop’s Cure then, and an *English* Parish now, were both the same Thing; nay, he positively affirms, that our present Sense of the Word is the very same that the antient Christians took it in, and lays a great Stress upon the genuine Signification of the Word itself for it: Now, before I give an Account of the Use or Meaning of this primitive Word *Παροικία* for a Christian Church, I hope I need not say, that whatever gave Occasion for the Use of it, it could have no respect to any Language *then* or *now* in Use amongst us of this Nation: It would be too absurd so much as to imagine such a Thing; and therefore to suggest the modern Affinity of the Words, by way of Argument in the Case, is directly to amuse only where we undertake to instruct. The truest Method I know to learn the Idiom or Propriety of a primitive Ecclesiastical Word, is by one or all of these three Ways: Either, 1. By the Sense it bears in the holy Scriptures, if we find it there; or, 2. By the continued Use of it in the Christian Church for some Time afterwards: or, 3. By the common Signification of it in the original Language from whence it is taken: And by these three Tests I shall try at present what the Word *Παροικία* antiently might mean. In holy Scripture I find it used by St. *Luke* to denote a temporary Residence of a Stranger in a Place remote from home: For in the Question of *Cleopas* to our blessed Lord, after his Resurrection, *Acts* xxiv. 18, *Art thou a Stranger in Jerusalem, &c?* the original Words are, *Σὺ μὲν ὅτι παροικῆς*

Ἱερουσαλήμ; which evidently includes this Παροικία in it, as the immediate Theme from whence it comes: And should it be rendered with any Analogy to the Member of a Parish, or such-like Society in the City, the holy Penman's Sense would be very singular and unintelligible indeed. Again, *St. Paul* uses it in the very same Sense and Signification afterwards, *Ephesians* ii. 19. *You are no longer Strangers and Foreigners*, says he, calling his Foreigners there by the Name of Παροικοί; which, if we should take it in our learned Enquirer's Sense, must be rendered *very near Neighbours* at least, or Fellow-Members of one and the same Society together, which I think directly inverts the Meaning of the holy Apostle: And other such-like Instances there are. So that the holy Scriptures (you see) suggested a very different Notion of the Word Παροικία to the primitive Christians, and such as one should sufficiently warrant, and (one would think) give fair Occasion to those heavenly-minded Saints to denominate their first Societies and Churches from it; since they ordinarily look'd upon themselves as meer Sojourners and Foreigners in the World, and were no otherwise accounted by the Heathen round about them.

BUT, 2dly, we often meet with the Word Παροικία both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers for several Ages afterwards, denoting the same Thing with a Diocese of many Parishes and Congregations in it; which farther proves that the Ecclesiastical Sense of the Word had not so narrow a Notion in it, till particular Places determinately made it so. In the *Code* of the *African Church*, publish'd both in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Justellus*, we meet with *Diœcesis* in one Language rendered by Παροικία in the other. Thus it



it is in the Title of the 56th Canon *, and again and again in the Body of the Canon itself. So St. *Jerom*, translating an Epistle of St. *Epiphanius* to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* †, expresses both their large Diocesēs (as they surely were then) by the Word *Parochia* only. St. *Augustine*, in his Epistle to Pope *Cælestin* ‡, tells him, that the Town of *Fussalala* was forty Miles distant from *Hippo*, yet both the Place itself and the Country round about it, did before this Time belong to the *Parœchia* of his Church of *Hippo*. And to come home to ourselves, the venerable *Bede* § calls the Diocese of *Winchester* by the same Name, even when the whole Province of the *South Saxons* did belong to it. And then, whether the Word *Diocese* (so customarily used for secular Districts and Provinces in the Empire) were immediately adopted into the Church or no I think it argues little; since, when it was received, Church-Writers themselves made no Scruple to use both *Diœcesis* and *Parochia* oftentimes as Terms synonymous in several Ages and Nations where *Diocesan* Districts were established: which makes it plain enough, that 'twas not with reference to Circuit or Extent of Churches that they used either, till latter Settlements gave more appropriated Senses to them, as it is obvious enough to be observed and seen in several other Ecclesiastical Terms.

* Vide *Christ. Justell. Can. Eccles. Africanæ, in Can. 56. Ed. Paris. 1614.*

† Vide *Epiphan. Ep. ad Johan. Hierosol. inter opera Hieron. Vol. 2. Tom. 3. Fol. 71. Edit. Erasim. Basil. item in Epiphan. Tom. 2. Pag. 312. Edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.*

‡ Vide *August. opera a Theolog. Lovan. Edit. Colon. Agrip. 1616. Tom. 2. P. 325. Ep. 26. Fussala simul contiguâ sibi Regione ad Parœciam Hipponensis Ecclesiæ pertinebat.*

§ *Bede Eccl. Histor. lib. 5. c. 19.*

BUT then, 3dly, The very Signification of the Word Παροιμία our learned Author will assure us, does make all clear: For it signifies (says he) a dwelling one by another as Neighbours do, or an Habitation in one and the same Place. But here I must take Leave to say (and I hope shall prove it too) that it is taken in a very different Sense by Writers of unquestionable Authority, and by Glossaries and Criticks in the *Greek Language* is sufficiently warranted to be so. The inquisitive *Suicer* *, in his first Observation on the Word Παροιμία, renders it by the *Latin Advena*, or *Peregrinus sum*, that is (as the inspired Penmen, I shewed you before, always use it in the holy Scriptures) *I am a Stranger and Foreigner in any Place*. But this is not all; he adds immediately, that this very Word is put in direct Opposition to κατοικεῖν, which, according to the ancient Glosses (says he) signifies to *dwell or have an Habitation in any Place*: And is this any thing more or less, than a downright Opposition to our learned Enquirer's peremptory Interpretation of it? And what this judicious Glossary does thus affirm, he makes good by the unexceptionable Authorities of *Philo Judæus* †, *St. Basil the Great* ‡, *Theodoret* §, and others, whose particular Quotations you have here noted at the Bottom, which makes it clearer still. I am sensible it may be alledged, that the *Greek Preposition παρὰ*, when joined in

* Suicer in Voc. Παροιμίω, &c.

† Philo Judæus de Sacrif. Abel & Cain. Ὁ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνοις ἐπανεχων παροικεῖ σφία, ἔ καλοικεῖ.

‡ Basil. m. in Plat. xiv. t. l. p. 149. Ἡ παροιμία ἐστὶ διαγωγὴ προσωκαιροῦ.

§ Theodoret. in Pl. cxix. p. 911. Παροιμίαν καλεῖ, ἥ ἐστὶ τῆ ἀλλοτεία διαγωγὴν.

Composition with another Word (as it is here) does often signify the same as *juxta* with the *Latins*, that is, *nigh*, or *near to any Place*. And this I take to be the sole Motive indeed, that induced our learned Author to make this positive Construction of the Word. But let *Devarius* (that accurate Critick in the Particles of the *Greek Tongue*) be heard in this Case; and he will teach us that we can't, with any Authority, attribute such a determinate Sense to it: * For his Note upon it is this, *ἢ πρὸς* (says he) *non solum πρὸ ἐγγύς, sed etiam τὸ πρὸς καὶ ἔξω significat*; that is, the Preposition *πρὸς* does not only signify *nigh*, or *near to*, but also *beyond*, or *from abroad*, and *without*, according to the different Phrase or Authors we may meet it in; which sufficiently justifies the above-mention'd ancient Writer's using it (even in this very Word before us) in direct Opposition to that of dwelling *nigh* one another in one and the same Place. But too much of this, for I ever took Criticism to be a slender Way of Arguing on so great a Subject as this is; only I found no Help for it here, the Determination was so positive in the Case, and such smooth Insinuations advanced upon the Plausibility of a single Word.

HAVING thus far consider'd the Platform of the Independent or Congregational Scheme, and, as I hope, sufficiently shewn how fallacious a Bottom it stands upon, I shall proceed to consider what our Adversaries have endeavoured to build upon. But here, considering what hath been already advanced in Favour of Episcopacy,

* Vide Matth. Devarii, Lib. de Græc. Ænig. particul. Edit. du Gard. A. D. 1657. pag. 206.

in Opposition to the Presbyterian Scheme, it will not, I hope, be expected that I should be very long upon this Head. I shall begin here also with the Church of *Jerusalem*, and endeavour to gratify Mr. *Norman* so far as to prove, that the several Congregations of it in the Scripture-Times were govern'd by St. *James*, and that the proving of this, is proving something to our Purpose. This Gentleman hath been already told by Mr. *Lowth*, that this (*viz.* that St. *James* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*) appears from several Passages in the *Acts of the Apostles*; that we read in the 12th Chapter, that upon St. *Peter's* being kept in Prison, Prayer was made without ceasing of the Church to God for him, Verse the 5th; and after his miraculous Deliverance, he ordered some of the Faithful to acquaint *James* and the rest of the Brethren with it, Ver. 17. denoting him to be Governor of that Church, as the Dissenters, in their Notes upon that Place, acknowledge in the Continuation of Mr. *Pool*; that at the Synod which was held at *Jerusalem*, and recorded in the 15th Chapter, Ver. 19. the Decree was pronounced by him; and that after the Synod or Council we find him at *Jerusalem*, as appears from *Gal. ii. 12.* and lastly, that some Years after we read, *Acts xxi. 18.* that St. *Paul*, after he was come to *Jerusalem*, gives an Account of the Success of his Preaching to *James*, in the Presence of all the *Elders*. I will not pretend to say that this is irresistible Reasoning, as Mr. *Norman* is pleased in a scoffing and bantering Sort of a Way to call it; all that I contend for, and, without doubt, all that Mr. *Lowth* expected, is, that it be admitted to carry with it the Face of a very strong Probability; and, from a Passage in Mr. *Norman's* Defence, I am apt to think he is a



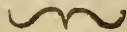
little inclined to be of the same Opinion, or else why does he in his Reply to it, *Def.* p. 20. instead of *James* and the *Church*, say only the *Church*? But then if we compare these Passages of Scripture with some others in Church History, they do so illustrate and confirm each other, that I think a Man had need have as strong Eye-sight as *Mr. Norman*, that can look up against so much Light, and boldly outface so strong a Degree of Evidence.

THE first Author *Mr. Lowth* mentions among the ancient Writers of the Church to prove that *St. James* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, is *Hegesippus* in *Eusebius*, Book 2. Chap. 23. Upon the Fragment of this Father, which the Historian presents us with, *Mr. Norman* makes the following Observations. 1. "That it contains a Relation of the Martyrdom of *St. James*, who is said to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but that the learned *Du Pin* takes Notice that his Way of telling it looks more like a fabulous Narrative than a *true History*." To which I answer, that the learned *Eusebius* tells us, in this very Chapter, that *Hegesippus* being one of those who were of the first Succession after the Apostles, does in the fifth Book of his Commentaries most accurately relate these Things concerning this *James*, speaking after this manner: *James, the Brother of our Lord, &c.*; which is the Beginning of this very Relation. 2. *Mr. Norman* observes, "That the Notes on this Passage, that *James* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, tell us, that *Scaliger* hath proved by many Arguments that this Relation is fabulous." But in the *English* Translation of *Eusebius*, with *Valesius's* Notes, for I have not the *Greek* by me, there are no Notes upon this Passage at all. Indeed

Indeed as to that which follows it in these Words, *To him only it was lawful, &c.* in which a particular Privilege is said to belong to him, and an Account is given of his more than ordinary Piety, the Notes tell us that *Scaliger*, in his Animadversions upon *Eusebius*, hath examined it thoroughly in the 178th Page of that Work, and finds fault with many Things in it; which are well worth reading, and if Mr. *Norman* will give himself the Trouble to turn to the 12th Chapter of this Book, he will see that *Valesius* in the Notes there calls him the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*. 3. He observes further, that the Words of *Hegefippus*, as cited by *Eusebius*, can't be a Proof of what Mr. *Lowth* refers to them for, but will rather prove the contrary; he saying, that *James* the Brother of our Lord governed the Church of *Jerusalem* with the Apostles: And if he governed the Church with the Apostles, continues he, how was he settled there as a *Diocesan*? The Preposition *μετά* is indeed sometimes rendered by *Post, after*; but when it has a *Genitive Case* after it, I do not remember that it ever signifies *Post*, but frequently *Cum, with*: And the learned *Valesius*, in his Notes on the Passage we are now considering, plainly favours this Interpretation. Now, supposing Mr. *Norman* in the Right, and Mr. *Lowth* in the Wrong, as to this Piece of Criticism, yet it will not prejudice the Cause of Episcopacy in general; because it is allowed by the Episcoparians, and supposed in this very Argument, that the Apostles did for a Time govern the Church of *Jerusalem*, all of them together. But I cannot see any Reason to give up Mr. *Lowth's* Argument at so easy a Rate. Mr. *Norman* hath given us the *Greek* of *Eusebius* in the Margin; which *Valesius*, and the *English* Translator above-

mention'd, and Mr. Norman, are for rendering as the *Engliſh* Translation hath it: — *Undertook together with the Apoſtles the Government of the Church.* The Words are, Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. It may be no great Preſumption, 'tis to be hoped, if I offer at another Translation of theſe Words, and ſubmit it to the unprejudic'd Reader when I have done, whether it be not the moſt natural of the two. Διαδεχμαί in my *Lexicon* ſignifies as much as *accipio per alium, quaſi per manus traditum*; that is, *to receive by or from another, as when a Thing is delivered to us by another Perſon's Hands.* And the Prepoſition μετὰ ſignifies *Per, By or From*, as well as *Cum, With*; ſo that I take the *Engliſh* of theſe Words to be, that he received the Church (*i. e.* the Government and Charge of it) by or from the Apoſtles.

THE next Father which Mr. *Lowth* appeals to in order to prove that St. *James* was made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, is *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*; and for a Proof that this is attested by him, he refers us to the 4th Book of *Eusebius*, Chapter the 23d: I muſt be ſo ingenuous as to own that I cannot find any ſuch Paſſage, tho' I have carefully perused the whole Chapter. Mr. *Bingham*, in the firſt Volume of his *Antiquities*, Book 2. Chap. 1. asserts the ſame; and directs us to *Dionyſius's* Epistle to the *Athenians*, in the Book and Chapter of *Eusebius* above-mention'd: But 'tis certain that the Extract or Abridgment of this Epistle, for the Chapter hath nothing more of it, contains no ſuch Thing. Whether theſe learned Gentlemen have made Uſe of any other Edition of *Eusebius* beſides that put out by *Valeſius*, and whether this Paſſage be there, or whether they are miſtaken,



I cannot take upon me to say ; but supposing the latter to be the Case, I must take the Liberty to tell Mr. *Norman*, that tho' it may be true that Mr. *Lowth* may not escape the Censure of him and his Brethren upon this Account, yet my Comfort is that their Censure will do him but very little Harm: for so well is the Reputation of that truly-excellent Person established, so fully sensible hath the World been made of his great and uncommon Learning and Abilities, as likewise of Mr. *Bingham's*, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to lessen either of them ; especially by nibbling at an unwary Expression, or a Slip of the Pen, which I believe no Man is any freer from than from any other Instance of human Frailty whatsoever. Thirdly, Mr. *Lowth* mentions *Clement of Alexandria*, as attesting that *St. James* was constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem* ; for whose Testimony we are likewise directed to *Eusebius*, Book the second, Chapter the first. “ Now *Eusebius*, saith Mr. *Norman*, it must “ be owned, doth say, that *Clement* speaks of “ *St. James's* being chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem* ; “ but it may not be improper, he says, to take “ notice, that the Historian mentions this as “ contained in a Work of that Father's, called “ his *Institutions*: Which (as a very considera- “ ble Man tells us, the learned Critick *Photius*, “ who had seen it) was full of Errors.” Now, who would expect such Reasoning as this from a Man that argues in the 52d Page of this Book (*viz. his Defence, &c.*) in the following manner! “ Now we will suppose *Philostorgius* to be “ such a notorious Lyar as Mr. *Lowth* has repre- “ sented him, and *Socrates* to be an Historian “ of much better Credit ; Is it not possible “ that *Philostorgius* should be once in the right, “ and *Socrates* mistaken?” But not to quarrel

with Mr. *Norman* for small Matters, I will agree with him that the Testimony of this Father shall not be admitted any farther than 'tis agreeable to what other Writers have delivered upon the same Subject. But Mr. *Norman* does not seem to lay a great deal of Stress upon this, but saith, " Be this as it will, when I consider how that Passage is expressed, it does not appear to me that it can be of any great Advantage to Mr. *Lowth* in this Argument." *Clement*, it seems, says, " That *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, tho' they were preferred by Jesus Christ to the other Apostles, did not contend among themselves for the first Degree of Honour, but chose St. *James* to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*:" As if it were a greater Degree of Honour to be confined to *Jerusalem*, than to have a Commission from Christ which extended to all Nations; and to be Bishop of a particular Diocese, was a greater Dignity than the Apostolick Office itself. All that I need to say in Answer to this, is, that I never heard or knew the Preference occasion'd by a Seniority either of Persons or Things so much wondered at before in my Life, and I hope I never shall again; and to my Knowledge a Deference hath been paid to a Dissenting Minister, by his Brethren, on the account of his Age, when his personal Merit and Abilities have required nothing of this kind. The last of the Antients cited by Mr. *Lowth*, to prove that St. *James* was by the Apostles constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem*, is St. *Ferrom*; but he being reckoned among the Writers of the *fifth Century*, Mr. *Norman* saith, " He must be supposed to have his Accounts relating to the primitive Church from those who flourished in the Ages before him: and therefore, if he does mention St. *James* as Bishop

" of

ART. XXIII.

“ of *Jerusalem*, which he could not say, be-
 “ cause he had not his Works by him to exa-
 “ mine the Chapter referr’d to, if he says no
 “ more than Mr. *Lowth* has made appear to
 “ have been said by the Fathers of the second
 “ Century, it does not come up to his Purpose ;
 “ and if he asserts more than they did, he thinks
 “ his Authority may without Offence be justly
 “ called in question.” What the Fathers which
 Mr. *Lowth* hath quoted have been made appear
 to say, must be left to the Reader to consider
 of. I hope they will be thought to have said
 enough ; but I am willing to believe, that no
 unprejudiced Person will think it to be amiss if
 I add the Testimony of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*,
 which is contained in the 7th Book of *Eusebius*,
 and Chapter the 19th : “ The Episcopal Chair
 “ of *James* the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who
 “ was consecrated by our Saviour himself, and
 “ the Apostles, (who in holy Writ is honoured
 “ with the Title of Brother of Christ) being
 “ reserved till this Time, the Brethren who
 “ have succeeded in that Church do reverence
 “ it :” Hence they plainly manifest to all what
 great Veneration and Respect both the Antients
 and also those of our Age have and do pay to
 holy Men, for their Love to God. This Father
 flourished about the Middle of the third Cen-
 tury. I am very willing to take leave of this
 Subject, but I must confess that I cannot with-
 out Indignation take notice upon this Occasion,
 that all the glorious Lights of the Christian
 Church in the fourth and fifth Centuries, whose
 Names can scarcely be mentioned without De-
 ference and Veneration by any true Sons of the
 Church of Christ, must be wholly set aside, and
 implicitly (at least) stigmatized with Innovation
 and prevaricating from the Evangelical Institu-
 tion

tion and Apostolical Establishment of the Christian Church, to make way for the Congregational Scheme; which makes the sagacious Author of the *Enquiry* lay such strict Injunctions as he does in his Preface upon any that should consider his elaborate Work, not to stir a Hair's-Breadth from the third Century of the Church: for to the glorious *Basil, Gregories, Chrysostom, Augustine*, or any of their Cotemporaries, he dares not appeal; knowing how notoriously the Catholick Church of God, then acknowledged in the World, and ever since, had Diocesnes and Churches of a very different Constitution from his. This Consideration, I verily believe, would a little affect some sort of modest Men; but I leave it to themselves.

As to Mr. *Norman's* Demand, Whether one Bishop governed the several Congregations of the Church of *Jerusalem*? I answer, That St. *James* was, as I have proved, Bishop of that Church: And Mr. *Norman* knows what that means, and that he knows the Independent Maxim of one Bishop to a Church as well as I do. As to his other Query, Whether St. *James* governed the Church of *Jerusalem* as a Bishop, or as an Apostle? I think I have answered it already out of Mr. *Baxter*; and 'tis to no purpose for Mr. *Norman* to tell us that Mr. *Baxter* hath said one thing in one Place and another thing in another, or that he is not concerned to appear in Defence of Mr. *Baxter's* Notions. What I expect from him is, that he should answer Mr. *Baxter's* Arguments; because, as Mr. *Norman* argues with relation to Bishop *Stillingfleet's* *Irenium*, the Reason of them, unanswered by Mr. *Baxter* or any Body else, prevails with me and with several other Persons, tho' we are far from
being

being ignorant that there is such a Book in the World as *Richard* against *Baxter*. In a Word, I hope what the blessed Martyr King *Charles I.* asserts in his Reply to the first Answer of the Presbyterian Divines, hath been sufficiently made good, *viz.* "That tho' the Apostles had no Successors in *eundum gradum* as to those Things that were extraordinary in them, as namely, the Measure of their Gifts, the Extent of their Charge, the Infallibility of their Doctrine, and the having seen Christ in the Flesh; yet in those Things that were not extraordinary (and such those Things are to be judged which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all Times, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing are) they were to have and had Successors; and therefore (continues he) the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old Times did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without ever scrupling thereat." But how convincingly soever this may be made out now, or hereafter, our Adversaries will still advance and assert, that the succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary Part of their Office, makes them Parochial Bishops, that is, Presbyters. This *Mr. Norman* doth in his *Defence*, &c. p. 15. and this the Author of the *Enquiry*, &c. doth at full length in the 4th Chapter of his Book. "The Definition of a Presbyter, he saith, may be this: A Person in Holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no Place, or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish." But lest this Definition should seem obscure, he proceeds to illustrate it by this following Instance:



stance: "As a Curate hath the same Mission
 " and Power with the Minister, whose Place he
 " supplies; yet being not the Minister of that
 " Place, he cannot perform there any Acts of
 " his Ministerial Function, without Leave from
 " the Minister thereof; So a Presbyter had
 " the same Order and Power (*he means for the*
 " *three first Centuries*) with a Bishop whom he
 " assisted in his Cure; yet being not the Bishop
 " or Minister of that Cure, he could not there
 " perform any Parts of his Pastoral Office,
 " without the Permission of the Bishop thereof;
 " so that what we generally render *Bishops,*
 " *Priests,* and *Deacons,* would be more intelli-
 " gible in our Tongue, if we did express it by
 " *Rectors, Vicars,* and *Deacons*; by Rectors
 " understanding the Bishops, and by Vicars the
 " Presbyters; the former being the actual In-
 " cumbents of a Place, and the latter Curates
 " or Assistants, and so different in Degree, but
 " yet equal in Order." In answer to this, it
 will be necessary to inquire into the Sense and
 Judgment of Antiquity, concerning the holy
 Rite or solemn Office of promoting a Presbyter
 to the Station of a Bishop; wherein I observe,
 (after the Example of the Enquirer himself,
 p. 10.) 1. That the same *Word*, which all An-
 tiquity uses for expressing the Promotion of a
 Layman to a Deacon, or a Deacon to a Pres-
 byter, they used also for the Promotion of
 Presbyters into the Station of a Bishop: 'Tis
Ordination of Bishops, as well as of Priests and
 Deacons, in the familiar Language of the Fa-
 thers: This our Enquirer owns, for he hath
 quoted an Authority from *St. Cyprian* for it,
 p. 49. and 'tis too obvious a Matter to need any
 Proofs. Hence I argue, in his own Words,
 p. 67. " *If the same Appellation of a Thing be*
 " "

“ a good Proof for the Identity of its Nature,
 “ then the Rite of consecrating a Bishop must
 “ confer a new Order upon him, because the
 “ same Name is as familiarly used for it, as
 “ for the Rite of ordaining a Presbyter, who
 “ undoubtedly had a new Order conferred upon
 “ him by it.” In this manner our Enquirer proves
 his Bishops and Presbyters to be of one and the same
 Order, from the Identity of their Names, (*Enqui-
 ry*, p. 67.) and those Names sufficiently liable to
 distinct Constructions, as I have shewn before ;
 and tho’ the Argument would have had consi-
 derable Weight in it, if he had proved the main
 Thing necessary there, namely, that a *Presbyter*
 was ordinarily, or indeed ever called a *Bishop*,
 after the Apostolical Age was a little over ; yet
 for want of that (which he did not, and I am
 free to say, he cannot prove) his Argument, I
 think, cannot come up to the Application I
 make of it here ; since the Word *Ordination*,
 for making of Bishops, has been authentick in
 all Ages of the Church, without any Mark of
 Distinction put upon it ; and for Fathers,
 Councils and Historians generally to make use
 of it, where no Order is given at all, not only
 puts a Force upon the Word it self, but is little
 less than an Imposition upon all Posterity also,
 by applying one and the same common Term to
 solemn Rites of the Church, of so near a Re-
 semblance to one another in all visible Appear-
 ance, and yet so vastly different in the Intention
 of the Church, as our Enquirer’s singular Notion
 of it would make it to be ; tho’, I believe, he
 is the first who ever ventured to tell the World,
 that Ordination in the making of a Bishop, did
 in our Language signify no more than an *In-
 stallment* (as I observed before), and now again
 will have the Meaning of it to be a Presbyter’s

Institution

Institution and Induction into a Cure; which to have proved, as well as said, had been no more than was necessary to his Cause.

BUT, secondly, as the Name, so the Rite itself of constituting a primitive Bishop, deserves to be considered: A single Bishop, by the ancient Canons of the Church, and by sufficient Evidence besides, might ordain a Presbyter or Deacon; but to make a *Bishop*, a whole Province of Bishops (our learned Enquirer knows) did most commonly assemble, and with the like holy Ceremony by which all Orders of the Church were conferred, that is, by Imposition of Hands and Prayers, did collate that Power and Character upon him, which ever after, and never before (as far as Fact and Words together can prove it) he was invested in; and if the former be the giving of *an Order* by a single Hand, and this latter but a *Licence* (as it were) to use it, or, as our learned Author chuses to express it, but a formal *Installment* into an Episcopal Chair; then the greater sacred Solemnity, this united Application of an Apostolical Rite to it, and this joint-synodical Invitation of the holy Spirit for it, are all of them to so singular and indifferent a Purpose, as is not to be parallel'd (we may safely say) in any other ministerial Solemnity in the whole Oeconomy of the Christian Church.

THIRDLY, By this *Ordination* the promoted Presbyter became a Member of a distinct Ecclesiastical College, from all other Officers or Ministers in the Church; from whence St. *Cyprian* so peculiarly calls the Bishops his *Collegues* in that higher Function with him, which (as humble as he was) he never once applied to Presbyters

ters

ters or Deacons *; tho' the learned *Enquirer* hath been pleased to assert the contrary, and, as it were, without making the least Attempt to prove it: And we know one immediate Effect of it was, that he gained a *ruling Power* over both of them, tho' he was but a Co-ordinate Brother to the Highest of them before: And such as are curious to see how such distinct Colleges implied distinct Orders in them, in the Nature of the Thing, may find it learnedly argued by the late singularly-learned and inquisitive Antiquary Mr. *Dodwell*, in his tenth Dissertation upon *St. Cyprian*.

BUT, 4thly, This promoted Presbyter, from the Time he had passed under the Provincial Imposition of Hands, acquired a Prerogative parallel to that of God's High-Priest among the *Jews*. Thus *St. Cyprian* not only makes the Rebellion of his Presbyters and others against him, of the same kind with that of *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*, against *Aaron*; but affirms the same Law which God gave for the High-Priest, or any the supreme Ruler whatsoever, to judge decisively in the great Council of their *Sanhedrim*, and to punish the Offender, did authorize the Christian Bishop to judge and censure rebellious Schismatics within his Jurisdiction. So he assures *Rogatian*, a Bishop in his Province ‡; and applies it to his own and *Cornelius's* Case, in another Epistle †: where he gives us a further Character of his promoted Presbyter's

* See Cyp. Ep. 28. (which is what our Author refers to, and is a direct Evidence against him) and Ep. 34.

‡ Cyp. Ep. 3. §. 1.

† Ep. 59. §. 4.

Dignity too, *viz.* that he was then become the one Judge, as well as the one *High-Priest*, and *Christ's Vicegerent* in the Church. Farther, he is from that Time peculiarly ranked in the Number of the *Apostles Successors*, to whom they themselves committed their *Churches*, and deliver'd up to them their Place of Mastership, or Magisterial Authority in them. So *Irenæus* says in plain Terms, and in that very Place where he was proving Orthodoxy from the personal Succession of them, which our Enquirer owns related to the supreme Presbyter or Bishop alone *. Again, *St. Cyprian* minds *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, to be zealous with him of the Unity of the Church, because it came from the Lord, and by the Apostles (says he) to us their Successors †. *Firmilian* styles Bishops the Apostles Successors by a Vicarious Ordination ‡. And the Confessor *Clarus a Mascula* (a Bishop in the *Carthaginian* Council under *St. Cyprian*) gives this unanswerable Suffrage for it: “ The Sentence, saith he, of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is manifest, who sent his Apostles, and granted to them alone the Power which was given to him of the Father, whom we succeed, governing the Church of the Lord with the same Power §. ”

LASTLY, He presided in the Consistory (to use *St. Ignatius's* Words) in the Place of God, whilst the Presbyters (in Analogy to that Comparison) sat as a College of Apostles under him,

* *Iren.* l. 3. c. 3.

† *Enquiry*, p. 12, 13.

‡ *Ep. Firmil. inter Ep. Cyp.* 75. p. 225.

§ *Concil. Carthag. apud Cyp. Suffrag.* 79. p. 242.

and then the Deacons as intrusted with the ministerial Service of Jesus Christ*. Very singular Phrases! for expressing Officers, whereof any two were of the same Order. These and many such Characters of a common Presbyter, after Ordination by Provincial Bishops, which 'twould be tedious to set down, are frequently to be met with in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, whereof not one of them was attributed to him 'till then, or to any in that inferior Station wherein he stood before; and if these Accessions of superlative Titles, Prerogatives, and Jurisdiction, denote no other Order conferr'd upon him than he had before, it will be very difficult to conceive, in what Sense the Jewish High-Priest, the Christian Apostles, the supremest Judges and Rulers in Societies, or the peculiar Vicegerents of God himself, are of a higher Order in Church and State, than all other Men of whatsoever Dignity or Station in any of them besides.

THE next Proposition which I am to prove, is, that the Power of Ordination hath ever incommunicably belong'd to the Order which we now call Bishops.

THAT the Apostles had this Power, and that *Timothy* and *Titus* had it, is acknowledged by all who allow of Ordination, either by Bishops or Presbyters. But our Adversaries have been challenged long since to produce one Ordination during the first fifteen hundred Years after Christ which was perform'd by Presbyters, and not generally look'd upon as invalid. Whereas, on

* Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. §. 6.

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the other hand, they who have been ordained by mere Presbyters in the Primitive Times, have been stripped of their pretended Orders, and with Derision turned down to the Laick Form. A famous and known Instance is *Ischy-ras*, who was deposed by the Synod of *Alexan-dria*, because *Colluthus*, who ordain'd him, was supposed to be no more than a Presbyter, tho' pretending to be a Bishop. The Council of *Sardica*, and the Council of *Sevil* in *Spain*, acted in like manner on the like Occasions.

BUT 'tis objected, that *St. Paul* exhorts *Ti-mothy* not to neglect the Gift that was in him, which was given him by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, *1 Tim. iv. 14.* Now since there were apparently two Sorts of Presbyters when this Epistle was written; one which had Power over other Presbyters, and so by Consequence another which was subordinate or in Subjection to this first Sort; one which answers to that Order which we call Bishops, and another which answers to the Order which we call Presbyters; so that the Presbytery here spoken of might be an Assembly of the Apostles themselves: For to make this Sense the more probable, we may observe, that *Ignatius*, a Disciple of the Apostles,* called the Apostles, the Presbytery of the Church, and made use of the very same *Greek* Word that is here used in the Original: I would fain know which is most reasonable, to explain the Text agreeably to the constant Sentiments and Practice of the most ancient Writers, and the Primitive Church, or to the novel Fancies of those who are but of Yesterday?

* Epist. ad Philad.

MR. *Norman* hath two Things to say upon this Head : 1. He saith, “ That though *Ignatius* use the Words in that Sense, it does not follow, that it was an Assembly of Apostles who laid their Hands on *Timothy*.” Very true, but it follows, that *the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery* is an Expression no way repugnant to our Scheme, and because capable of a double Signification, not plain enough to introduce new Practices into the Church, in Opposition to what is already established, and as much, if not more, favoured by the Text on which this Opposition is built, as what Mr. *Norman* and his Brethren would have substituted in the Room of it.

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2. MR. *Norman* saith, “ That *Ignatius* speaks of fleeing to the Gospel as to the Flesh of Christ, and to the Apostles as to the Presbytery of the Church ; and if the Gospel be not the Flesh of Christ, he submits it to Consideration, whether from that Father’s Way of Speaking, we are to conclude, that an Assembly of Apostles may properly be called the Presbytery of the Church.” Now, if there be any-thing in this Argument it must be this, that if one Branch or Member of a Sentence be figurative, the Remainder of it must not be understood literally. This Gentleman knows that our Saviour saith of himself in the *Revelation*, *I am the bright and Morning Star ; I am the Offspring of David*. The former Part of these Words are figurative, and what will Mr. *Norman* say of the latter ? Surely so intelligent a Person as Mr. *Norman* never surprized the World with such Reasoning as this is before!

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BUT though we should grant that the Presbytery here spoken of was an Assembly of mere Presbyters, which I can as yet see no Necessity for; yet it appears from 2 *Tim.* i. 6. that *St. Paul* was concern'd in *Timothy's* Ordination. The Text runs thus, *Wherefore I put thee in Remembrance, that thou stir up the Gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my Hands.* And therefore, the utmost that can be deduced from this Text, *viz.* 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. is this, *viz.* That one or more of such as were mere Presbyters, might lay on their Hands in Concurrence with him, to testify their Consent and Approbation; as is the Custom at this Day in the Ordination of a Presbyter, and has been sometimes done at the Ordination of a Bishop.

THIS, as some learned Gentlemen have been of Opinion, is at least exceeding probable from the Preposition *διὰ*, or *by*, which is annexed to *St. Paul's* laying on of Hands, and from the Preposition *μετὰ*, or *with*, which precedes the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; the former of them proving *St. Paul* to be the principal Conveyor of the Authority which was given to *Timothy*, and the latter indicating the Presbytery to be a Company of subordinate Assistants. But as Criticism is, as I have hinted already, too little a Part of this Argument to be long dwelt upon, I pass on to another Difficulty, which our Objectors ought to clear, before they argue from 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. with so much Assurance as they do: I mean, that they should shew that *Timothy's* Ordination is there intended. To argue upon the Supposition that it is, will do our Cause, as hath been seen, no Hurt; but methinks, those Writers of ours that observe

observe how frequently *laying on of Hands* was used in other Cases besides Ordination, and of how large and comprehensive a Signification the Word *Gift* is, are too considerable to be so entirely neglected as they seem to be by the Advocates for the Presbyterian and Independent Schemes. Dr. *Calamy* would fain have 2 *Tim.* i. 6. refer to *Timothy's* receiving the Holy Ghost, by the *laying on of the Hands* of the Apostle; but surely, if the Gift in this latter Place may signify the Holy Ghost, it may also do it in the former, for I can find nothing in the Context that will determine the Signification of the one more than the other.

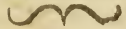
IN a Word, the Necessity of Ordination, and of Ordination by such as we call Bishops, is here proved in the same manner that the Dissenters prove that such and such Books are Canonical Scripture, and were written by those whose Names they bear; that we are to observe the Lord's-Day instead of the *Jewish Sabbath*, and to baptize Infants. And how unequal it is not to allow the same Force where there is the same Evidence, is left to all impartial Judges to determine.

BUT still it is objected, that we hereby Unchurch the Reformed Churches abroad. My Answer is, That these Churches are irregular as to the Point in Debate; but inasmuch as they have assured us, that 'tis not Choice which makes them be without such as we call Bishops, but Necessity; on the Account of which I hope any positive Institution may be dispensed with; we neither judge them nor despise them. And 'tis with a great deal of Satisfaction that I observe, that they join with us in accusing those

ART. XXIII. of our own Countrymen, who in this particular rebel against the best constituted Church in the World, as Schismaticks and disorderly Walkers.

CALVIN, for instance, saith, “ That no
 “ Anathema is too great for such as refuse to
 “ reverence and obey such an Hierarchy,
 “ such an Episcopacy as ours is.” His own
 Words are in the Margin, † and are much
 stronger than my Translation of them. Let
 Monsieur L’*Angle*, one of the Preachers of the
 Reformed Church at *Charenton* near *Paris*, in
 his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, dated *October*
31, 1680. who was himself a Presbyterian,
 be heard as his Interpreter, who should, one
 would think, be free from the least Suspicion
 of explaining him in a higher Sense than his
 Words were plainly intended to bear. “ *Calvin*,
 “ saith he, in his Treatise of the Necessity of
 “ the Reformation, makes no Difficulty to say,
 “ That if there should be any so unreasonable
 “ as to refuse the Communion of a Church
 “ that was pure in its Worship and Doctrine,
 “ and not to submit themselves with respect to
 “ its Government, under Pretence that she had
 “ retained an Episcopacy qualify’d as yours is,
 “ there would be no Censure nor Rigour of
 “ Discipline that ought not to be exercised up-
 “ on them.” I will take it upon me to assure

† Talem nobis Hierarchiam si exhibeant in qua sic eminent Episcopi ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam ab uno capite pendeant, & ad ipsum referantur; in qua sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate sint colligati; tum vero nullo non Anathemate dignos fatear si qui erunt qui non eam revereantur summamque obedientiam observent. *Calv. Edit. Amstel. Tom. 8. P. 62.*



the Reader, that *Zanby* declares himself to be of the same Opinion, though, because I have not his Works by me, I cannot refer the Reader to the Place where he does it. Let us therefore hear Mr. *L'Angle* a little further :
 “ *Beza* himself, continues he, who did not in
 “ the general approve of Episcopal Govern-
 “ ment, makes such a Distinction of yours,
 “ and is so far from believing that one may,
 “ or one ought to take Occasion from thence
 “ to separate from your Church, that he prays
 “ earnestly to God that she may always remain
 “ in that happy Estate in which she had been
 “ put and preserved by the Blood, by the Pu-
 “ rity of the Faith, and by the wise Conduct
 “ of her excellent Bishops.” † Monsieur *Le*
Moyne, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, in his
 Letter to the same most excellent Prelate, not
 only professes that he can see nothing in the
 Episcopal Government that is dangerous, and
 may reasonably alarm Mens Consciences, but
 also saith, “ That if this be capable of depriv-
 “ ing us of Eternal Glory, and shutting the
 “ Gates of Heaven, who was there that enter’d
 “ there for the Space of Fifteen hundred Years,
 “ since that for all that Time all the Churches
 “ of the World had no other kind of Go-
 “ vernment?” He goes on celebrating the just
 Praises of Bishops in the Catholick Church,
 and in ours in particular, but this I shall leave

† Quod si nunc Anglicana Ecclesia instaurata suorum Episcoporum autoritate persistat, quemadmodum hoc nostrâ memoriâ contigit, ut ejus ordinis homines non tantum insignes Dei Martyres sed etiam Præstantissimos Pastores & Doctores habuerit, fruatur sanè isâ singulari Dei Beneficiâ, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua.

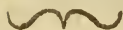
the Reader to peruse at his Leisure, as not being directly to my present Purpose.

MONSIEUR *Claude*, another of the Ministers of the Reformed Church at *Charenton*, in his Letter to the same Bishop saith, "That it was
 " an indispenfable Necessity that put their
 " Churches under the Presbyterian Govern-
 " ment at the Reformation." The learned *Grotius* was for having the Clergy of the Church which he belong'd to, ordained by Bishop *Bramball*, who was then in those Parts, as appears to any body that will consult his Letters, in the best Edition of his Book *concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*. "I have always
 " professed, saith Mr. *Le Clerc*, ‡ to believe,
 " that Episcopacy is of Apostolical Institution,
 " and consequently very good, and very law-
 " ful; that Men had no manner of Right
 " to change it in any Place, unless it was im-
 " possible otherwise to reform the Abuses that
 " crept into Christianity; that it was justly
 " preserved in *England*, where the Reformati-
 " on was practicable, without altering it: That
 " therefore the Protestants in *England*, and
 " other Places where there are Bishops, do very
 " ill to separate from that Discipline; that
 " they would still do much worse in attempting
 " to destroy it, in order to set up Presbytery,
 " Fanaticism, and Anarchy. Things ought
 " not to be turned into a Chaos, nor People
 " seen every where, without a Call, and with-
 " out Learning, pretending to Inspiration. —
 " Nothing is more proper to prevent them

‡ This Gentleman, if not alive, cannot have been long dead.

“ than the Episcopal Discipline, as by Law
 “ established in *England* ; especially when those
 “ that preside in Church Government, are
 “ Persons of Penetration, Sobriety, and Dis-
 “ cretion.”

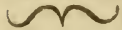
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THE Letter from *Geneva*, to the University of *Oxford* speaks the same Language ; it laments our unhappy Differences, it blames our Dissenters highly, and declares that Episcopacy is wanted among them, not out of Choice, but downright real Necessity : By the Means of which Letter a Misunderstanding was removed, and a very good Understanding settled betwixt the two Places, which, I hope, the youngest Person now living will never see the End of. That any of these Letters were obtained by Misrepresentations, or any other Methods not altogether to be justified, as Mr. *Norman* insinuates in the 56th Page of his *Defence*, &c. is so hard a Reflection upon so many excellent Persons, that I wonder he was not ashamed to suggest it, without a very great Degree of Evidence ; and much more that he could venture to do it, and at the same Time acknowledge that he hath no Proof, besides his own kind and charitable Supposition. Surely one may venture, without the least Offence, to call this a very bold and desperate Way of proceeding. Nor is there a great deal more Modesty in what he asserts in the next Period ; “ That the Reformed
 “ Churches abroad are without *Diocesan* Episcopacy, and that this is a Case of Necessity,
 “ is asserted without the least Shadow of Reason.” This likewise is usher'd in with an uncommon Degree of Assurance. *This*, saith he, *we are sure of*. Well, then, the Letter from *Geneva*, which did not come from a few particular

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cular Men, but from a whole Society, is what I humbly offer to Mr. *Norman's* serious Perusal, not forgetting Mr. *Bingham's* Book, intituled, *The French Churches Apology for the Church of England*, Book IV. Chap. 4. which hath been already recommended by his learned Adversary Mr. *Lowth*, but to no manner of Purpose, for he is not pleas'd to take the least Notice of it. In the next place let me refer him to Bishop *Burnet's* Exposition upon this Article, where he will find it asserted, that there is as great a Necessity for submitting to a Presbyterian Ordination in the foreign Reformed Churches, as there was for the *Jews* to submit to *Caiaphas* as High-Priest. The Governments they live under, as he tells us, compel them to it, for several political Reasons, which, as his Lordship was long conversant among them, he had very fair Opportunities of discovering. As to what he says about the *French Churches* refusing to receive a Clergy ordained by *English Bishops*, though earnestly solicited to it, and particularly by Bishop *Moreton*, I can only answer at present, that 'tis impossible to know whether, if we suppose it to be true, it affects the Matter in Debate, 'till we know the Reasons upon which this Refusal was grounded. Mr. *Norman* hath neither told us the Story at full Length, nor directed us where to find it, and therefore I shall content myself with telling him another, but much better attested than this which he offers upon his bare Word. " First then, my
 " Lord, saith Monsieur *Claude*, to the Bishop
 " of *London*, we are so very far from believing
 " that a Man cannot live with a good Con-
 " science under your Discipline, and under your
 " Episcopal Government, that, in our ordinary
 " Practice, we make no Difficulty to bestow
 " our



“ our Chairs, or to commit the Care of our
 “ Flocks to Ministers received and ordained by
 “ my Lords the Bishops, as might be justified
 “ by a great Number of Examples, both old
 “ and new ; and a little while since Mr. *Du-*
 “ *pleffis*, that was ordained by my Lord Bishop
 “ of *Lincoln*, hath been established and called
 “ in a Church of this Province ; and Monsieur
 “ *Wiccart*, whom you, my Lord, received to
 “ the Holy Ministry, did us the Honour but
 “ some Months ago, to preach at *Charenton*, to
 “ the general Edification of our Flock.” That
 some of the *French* Ministers that fled hither
 from Persecution, did not procure themselves to
 be Episcopally ordained, may, for ought I
 know, be Matter of Fact, which if they had
 done, they would have been qualified for the
 taking of such Ecclesiastical Preferments as they
 could find Friends to procure for them ; and
 this I am apt to think is the Piece of Self-
 Denial that Mr. *Norman* so artfully ascribes to
 them. But, alas ! He must be a great Stran-
 ger to the World, who imagines that they
 might not be under a greater Temptation of a
 worldly Nature, to herd among the Sectaries, than
 to conform to the Church of *England*, in which
 Mr. *Norman* knows there are a great many very
 poor Livings, besides Curacies, and many Mini-
 sters whose Incomes are a great deal less than the
 Salaries and other Gratuities which the Dissen-
 ters, in several Places, bestowed upon their
 Teachers about Thirty or Forty Years ago.
 But as to the main Body of the Refugees, 'tis
 as notorious as any thing can possibly be, that
 they crowded for Episcopal Orders and Prefer-
 ment so thick, that it became at last a Grievance
 both to the Clergy and Laity of this Church,
 and

and made it to be doubted by some, whether Conscience was not the pretended, and Conve- niency the real Motive which prevail'd upon some of them to forsake their native Country.

BUT if the Necessity which is alledged in behalf of the foreign Reformed Churches be nothing but a Pretence or Sham, I shall leave to Mr. *Norman* the Honour of branding them with the Character of Hypocrites, a Compliment not much more acceptable, I believe, than the Calling in Question the Regularity of their Ordinations.

UPON a Review of what I have said under this Article, I judge it necessary to say somewhat concerning the Ministration of the Sacraments. We see that the Consecration of the Lord's Supper was committed to the Ministers of the Church, 1 *Cor.* xi. as the Power of Baptizing was *Matth.* xxviii. 19. And all Commis- sions are naturally exclusive of all such as they are not granted to. Nor is it pretended by any Writer of Note, (if by any Christian) that the Consecration of the Lord's Supper belongs to any but the Ministry. Much Dispute indeed hath been raised concerning the Validity of Baptism given by private Christians: But they who contend for the Validity of Lay-Baptism, allow it to be irregular and unlawful, which is as much as I am concerned to prove.*

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* See *Bilson's Perpetual Government*, c. 12, 13. *Hall's Episcopacy by Divine Right*, Part 2. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book.* 7. §. 5. *Bishop Lloyd's Histor. Account of Church Government.* *Burrough's of Schism*, §. 2, 3. *Scott's Christian Life*, Part 2. c. 7. §. 10. *Field of the Church*, Book 5. c. 27. *Nelson's Fasts*,

I THINK it proper to observe to the Reader, that some of the Books hereunder referred to, have indeed been written against ; but that Writing against a Book is one Thing, and Answering it another.

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BEFORE I conclude my Observations upon this Article, I think it not amiss to take Notice of those Gentlemen, who have of late Years made themselves so merry with the Notion of an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops. I question not but that this is looked upon by many of them as a Point maintained by none but High-Church-Men, High-Flyers, &c. as some of the Clergy and other Members of the Church have the Honour to be distinguished by them. I am therefore exceeding glad, that I can tell them that Bishop *Burnet*, who cannot, I am sure, be accused of letting his Zeal for the Church of *England* get the Start of his Judgment, hath not only confuted the *Popish* Story of the *Nag's-Head*, in his Abridgment of the History of the *Reformation*, Book IV. pag. 364. but is also chargeable with this Doctrine of the Uninterrupted Succession, as well as a great many other eminent Divines. His Words, saith the learned Mr. *Lowth*, in his Answer to Mr. *Norman*, are very remarkable in his Preface to

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Fasts, Ember-Days in Whitson-Week. Chillingworth's Demonstration of Episcopacy. Mr. Roberts's Visitation Sermon. Dr. Bisse's Sermon on the same Text. Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticae, Book 2. c. 1, & 3. The French Churches Apology for the Church of England, by the same Author, Book 4. c. 4. Mr. Jackman's Rational and Moral Conduct of Mr. Peirce, &c. Mr. Lowth's Sermon on Acts ii. 42. His Defence of it, in Answer to Mr. Norman. Dr. Rogers of the Visible and Invisible Church, &c. Part 2. c. 3, & 5.

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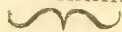
his *Regale* ; where, speaking of the Episcopal Form of Government, he saith, “ I do verily believe it was begun by the Apostles, and continued down in an uninterrupted Succession, in all Parts of the World, to our Days.” As to his (Mr. *Norman*’s) Demand, How I prove this Succession ? “ I answer, saith Mr. *L.* “ That it being a Doctrine universally received, that Bishops alone could ordain ; it was morally impossible that any Persons could be received as Bishops, who had not been so ordained.”

I HAVE often wondred what Answer could be returned to this excellent Argument, which Mr. *Lowth* saith, contains an Historical Truth, against which nothing of Moment hath been at any Time advanced. Mr. *Norman*’s Answer to it, Page 75. of his *Defence*, &c. is either a little trifling Banter, or else nothing but what I have fully consider’d, and, I hope, as fully confuted in several Parts of this Discourse. I shall only add, that if the several Oppositions that were made to Presbyterian Ordination in the Primitive Times, which are recorded by the antient Writers of the Church, be not, in this Gentleman’s Opinion, Historical Evidence, it will puzzle, I believe, the whole World, and himself among the rest, to call them by their right Name. A Collection of Evidence like this, relating to Infant Baptism, is what the learned Dr. *Wall* calls a History of Infant Baptism, and it hath carried that Title a great many Years, with very great and deserved Applause.

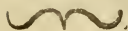
I AM exceeding sensible how long I have detained the Reader upon this Article, but I must take the Freedom to desire his Patience a little, while I consider a bold and singular Paradox which

which Bishop *Burnet* hath advanced in his Exposition upon the same Article. When he comes to consider the second Part of the Article, which is the Definition which it gives of those that are *Lawfully Called and Sent* into Christ's Vineyard; " This, he says, is put in general Words, far
 " from that magisterial Stiffness in which some
 " have taken upon them to dictate in this Matter. The Article, continues he, does not
 " resolve this into any particular Constitution,
 " but leaves the Matter open and at large, for
 " such Accidents as had happened, and such
 " as might still happen. They who drew it,
 " had the State of the several Churches before
 " their Eyes that had been differently reformed,
 " and although their own had been less forced
 " to go out of the beaten Path than any other,
 " yet they knew, that all Things among them-
 " selves had not gone according to those Rules
 " that ought to be sacred in Regular Times.
 " Necessity has no Law, and is a Law to itself."

Now, those whom his Lordship supposes to dictate in this Matter with such a magisterial Stiffness, are, at least, all other Expositors on the Articles besides himself. All that they can see in this Place is what I have taken Notice of in the Beginning of these Observations, *viz.* That since the immediate and extraordinary Way of appointing the Persons who are to minister in holy Things is over, as it presently was, such Persons as are duly ordained by Persons authorized for that Purpose, that is, such as receive a mediate or ordinary Call and Mission, are, to all Intents and Purposes, as much Ministers of the Gospel as those who were immediately called and sent by God himself. The Circumstances and Necessities which particular Churches had been or might be under, were,
 without



without doubt, before the Eyes of the Compilers of the Articles when they drew them up; but it doth not appear that they thought themselves obliged to assert any thing concerning them. Their Business was to draw up a Confession of Faith, which might be proved to be plainly agreeable to the Word of God, and whatever Compassion and Tenderneſs they might have for Persons and Churches which were constrained to be *irregular*, when they were to deliver their private Judgment, founded upon Charity and the Consideration of God's infinite Goodneſs, who, 'tis to be hoped, will in Caſes of Neceſſity, diſpenſe even with the want of the Sacraments themſelves; yet it would have very ill become them to expreſs themſelves with ſo much Assurance in a Caſe which is confeſſedly a Deviation from the Rule preſcrib'd in the Scriptures, and yet compel us to declare, as they ſoon after did, in the Thirty-fixth Canon, the whole Thirty-nine Articles to be *agreeable to the Word of God*. Nay, if it was their Intention to declare themſelves with relation to extraordinary Caſes, and not to leave them to be defended when they happen, by ſuch as are concerned in them, it ſeems ſtrange to me how they came to aſſert, That it is not *Lawful to Preach or Adminiſter the Sacraments without Orders*; ſince it may certainly happen to be as neceſſary for a Man to take upon him to do this as to accept of an irregular Ordination. This the Compilers could not be ignorant of, and I cannot think they could deny and aſſert the Principle, which the Biſhop ſaith they built upon, in the ſame Breath and in the ſame Article, which conſiſts of no more than two Sentences, and thoſe of a very moderate Length. I know no better Way to explain the Senſe of the Church of



of *England* than by comparing what it delivers in one Place with what it says in another, it having been esteemed a good Rule among the Learned, to look upon the Articles, Liturgy, Homilies, and Canons to be, as it were, the Composition of one Man, and therefore I shall here transcribe the first Paragraph of the Preface to our Ordination Service, which the Clergy subscribe to at the same Time that they subscribe to the Articles. “ It is evident unto

“ all Men, diligently reading Holy Scripture
 “ and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles
 “ Time there have been these Orders of Mi-
 “ nisters in Christ’s Church ; Bishops, Priests,
 “ and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore
 “ had in such reverend Estimation, that no
 “ Man might presume to execute any of them,
 “ except he were first called, tryed, examined,
 “ and known to have such Qualities as are re-
 “ quisite for the same, and also by Publick
 “ Prayer with Imposition of Hands, were ap-
 “ proved and admitted thereunto by lawful
 “ Authority. And therefore, to the Intent that
 “ these Orders may be continued, and reve-
 “ rently used and esteemed in the Church of
 “ *England* ; no Man shall be accounted or
 “ taken for a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon
 “ in the Church of *England*, or suffer’d to
 “ execute any of the said Functions, except he
 “ be called, tryed, examined, and admitted
 “ thereunto, according to the Form hereafter
 “ following, or hath had formerly Episcopal
 “ Consecration or Ordination.” This, I think,
 sufficiently vindicates the Church of *England*
 from the false, though artificial Gloss, which
 the Bishop had so injuriously and with so much
 Assurance given to the latter Part of this Ar-



ticle. I express myself in this manner, because he only asserts, with a *magisterial Stiffness*, what Views the Compilers of the Articles proceeded upon, without giving us the least Proof, and at last sinks, of his own accord, so low as to say, that what he asserted to be their Meaning, *seems to be so*. But his Lordship leaves the Article, and goes on to argue from the Atonement which was to be made among the *Jews* by the High-Priest alone. “ Here it may be very “ reasonably suggested, he says, that since none “ besides the High-Priest might make this A- “ tonement, then no Atonement was made, if “ any other besides the High-Priest should so “ officiate.” And then he proceeds to tell us, “ That the Office of the High-Priest was en- “ tailed by God himself on the eldest of *Aaron’s* “ Family, and that it might not be transferred “ to any other without a particular Revelation “ from God himself; That yet several Changes “ of this kind had been made; That to say “ nothing of the Changes made by the *Macca-* “ *bees*, and all their Successors of the *Asmodean* “ Family, as *Herod* had begun to change the “ HighPriesthood at Pleasure, so the *Romans* not “ only continued to do this, but in a most mer- “ cenary manner, they set this sacred Function “ to sale; That the Persons they sold it to “ were, in Fact, High-Priests, and since the “ People could have no other, the Atonement “ was still performed by their Ministry; That “ our Saviour owned *Caiaphas*, whom he calls “ a sacrilegious and usurping High-Priest, and “ that as such he *prophefied*: This, he saith, “ shews, that where the Necessity was real and “ unavoidable, the *Jews* were bound to think, “ that God did, in Consideration of that, dis- “ pense

“pense with his own Precept.” And then he goes on to apply this to the Case of the Reformed Churches abroad, and to determine what the real and unavoidable Necessity is, that will justify a Departure from the Rule which God hath been pleased to establish for the Ordering and Government of his Church. What I have to say to all this, is, 1. That our Blessed Saviour doth not own *Caiaphas* in either of the Places referred to by the Bishop, which are *John xi. 51.* and *xviii. 22, 23.* *St. John*, indeed, calls him the High-Priest, but whether he had any View to the Dispute before us, or only called him so in compliance with the Language of the Times, I leave to be determined by *Acts xxiii. 5.* 2. If Prophecying be an Argument to prove that our Saviour owned him, it will follow, I think, that *Balaam* and *Saul* were High-Priests; and I must leave the Reader to judge, whether God’s permitting this Man to *prophecy* were designed as a Confirmation of his being the High-Priest, or of the Truth of the Christian Religion, in order to render the malicious Opposition of the *Jews* the more inexcusable. 3. That the Bishop himself calls *Caiaphas* a sacrilegious and usurping High-Priest, and the Ministrations or else the Appointments of such High-Priests as he was, as great Nullities as can be well imagined to be. 4. And, that though we charitably hope, and that too with a pretty deal of Firmness and Assurance, that our good and gracious God did accept of the best Endeavours of all sincere Persons among the *Jews*, to do his Will, though they were necessarily and unavoidably destitute of a lawful Priesthood, so we doubt not but that he does as readily

accept of the Devotions of all the pious and devout Christians belonging to the Foreign Reformed Churches, and of all others, who are necessarily and unavoidably without a *regular* Ministry; yet it will go very hard with a great many of us, to subscribe this Article in Bishop *Burnet's* Sense, and so by Consequence assert, that an irregular Ordination is agreeable to the Word of God. 5. That the Bishop himself, by his way of Reasoning, makes the Ministers of these Churches to be no more in Holy Orders than *Caiaphas* was High-Priest, or no more than such as are appointed to minister in Holy Things by mere Laymen, suppose in some of our distant Factories or Plantations, and therefore 'tis strange that he should be so *hot*, as to call such as are in Reality of his own Opinion, at the Bottom, a hotter sort of Men than their Fore-fathers, who he could not but know inhibited *Travers* from Preaching in the *Temple*, because he had received no other Orders than such as were agreed upon in the National Synods in the *Low-Countries*, and consequently that we have as favourable an Opinion of them as they had, with whom, as we agree in so many great and fundamental Points of Christianity, and in the common Cause of all Protestants, we have been constantly ready, and still are, to behave ourselves towards them, upon all proper Occasions, with all due Tenderneſs and Brotherly Affection, though we think, that endeavouring to please them at the Expence of what we believe to be *the Truth*, is a straining of the Compliment a little too far. 6. And lastly, That 'tis justly look'd upon as absurd and trifling to put Questions to the Dead, and therefore

as his Lordship hath not thought fit to tell us what those Rules are which our Church hath transgressed, which ought to be sacred in regular Times; I am afraid I shall never know what those Rules are: but my Comfort is, that he would not, in my Opinion, have neglected to mention them, if there had been the least Hopes that the rest of the World would have thought them to be of as much Consequence as he hath been pleased to represent them.





ARTICLE XXIV.

Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the People understandeth.

ART. XXIV. It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church, to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood of the People.

The EXPOSITION.



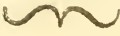
SINCE all Divine Worship is rather an Act of the Mind than of the Body, it follows, that that Worship, in which the Mind is not concern'd, is impious and absurd. So agreeable is this Reasoning to the Word of God, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, that I cannot sufficiently wonder at the contrary Practice of the Church of Rome. St. Paul speaks to this Point at large, 1 Cor. xiv. Thus, ver. 11. he expresses himself in this manner; — *If I know not the Meaning of the Voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a Barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a Barbarian unto me.* And from ver. 14. to the

the

the 20th, he hath these Words; — *If I pray in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit prayeth, but my Understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of Thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest Thanks well, but the other is not edify'd. I thank my God, I speak with Tongues more than you all: Yet in the Church I had rather speak five Words with my Understanding, that by my Voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand Words in an unknown Tongue.* And again, ver. 26. he saith, *Let all Things be done to Edifying.* On the Day which is called *Sunday*, saith *Justin Martyr*, there's an Assembly of all those who live either in the Cities or in the Country, and those Things which are written of or by the Apostles, and the Writings of the Prophets, are read as long as Time will permit. When the Reader hath done, he that presides in the Assembly admonishes and exhorts us to put those good Things which we have heard in Practice. And afterwards we rise up with one Consent, and send up our Prayers to God.*

WE go together, saith *Tertullian*, into the Assembly and Congregation, that we may, as it were, with one Consent, encompass God with our Prayers. This Force is acceptable to God. — We go together for the Reading of the Scriptures, in order to observe what the

* Apol. i. c. 87.

ART. XXIV.  Circumstances of the present Times shall have made necessary to be taken Notice of, by way of Caution, or to be treasur'd up in our Memories. By these holy Words we certainly nourish our Faith, heighten our Hope, and make our Confidence in God fix'd and stedfast. †

WHEN we stand at our Prayers, my dearly beloved Brethren, saith S. Cyprian,* we ought to watch, and attend to them with our whole Heart; all carnal and worldly Thoughts must be discarded; and the Mind must be exercis'd on nothing but what it prays for: And therefore the Priest doth by a Preface prepare the Minds of the Brethren, by saying, *Lift up your Hearts*: That as the People answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*; they may thereby be admonish'd, that they ought to think on nothing but the Lord. At that Time the Breast should be shut against our Enemy, and open to God only: Neither should God's Enemy be suffer'd to come near it in the Time of Prayer. For he frequently breaks in upon us, gets within us, and in a subtle manner draws off our Prayers from God; so that we have one thing in our Mouth, and another in our Heart: Whereas we ought to pray to the Lord, not with the Sound of our Voices, but with the sincerest Fervency of Heart and Spirit. ‡

† Apol. adv. Gentes, c. 39.

* De Oratione Dominica.

‡ See *Homily of Common-Prayer and Sacraments*. Patrick's Answer to the *Touch-stone*, §. 52. *Fewel's Reply*, Art. III. *Novellii Cat.* p. 112. *Bilson of Christian Subj.* Part 4. p. 393. *Field of the Church*, Append. to Book 3. p. 238.


IN a Word, they that can have the Face to maintain, that to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood by the People, is not contrary to the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, and to the Practice of the first Ages of Christianity, need not be ashamed to set up for the Defence of the grossest Falshood in the World. Such a stedfast Devotion as the Fathers before-mentioned require, is, I am sure, utterly inconsistent with a Man's Praying for he knows not what, or in a Language which he does not understand.

So true was it, as *Origen* tells us in the 402d Page of his Book against *Celsus*, That the Christians in his Time used several Languages in their Prayers. The *Greeks*, saith he, in their Prayers use the *Greek*, the *Romans* the *Latin* Tongue, and so every one of us prays to God according to his own Dialect, and celebrates his Praises as he can ; and he who is the Lord of all Dialects, hears them praying in every Tongue, hearing them as if it were one Voice manifested from divers Tongues, according to the Things signified by them : For the Great God is not one that hath chosen one Tongue, *Greek* or Barbarous, before others, as either not knowing, or not regarding what was spoken to him in other Languages ; so certain is it, that this ancient Rite of every Church, as the *Trent* Council calls their *Latin Service*, was not in his Time become the universal Practice of the Church of Christ.

As to the Custom of the Catholick Church at this Day, the Learned *Brerewood*, in his Enquiries

Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the chief Parts of the World, hath very plainly proved, That the *Armenians, Habassines, Moscovites, Russians,* and *Sclavonians*, as well as Protestants, celebrate their Liturgies in their own vulgar Tongue; that the *Nestorians* celebrate theirs in the *Chaldee* or *Syriac*, together with the *Indians* and the *Jacobites* of *Mesopotamia, Babylon, Palestine, Syria,* and *Cyprus*, the *Copti* or Christians of *Egypt*, the *Maronites*, and the poor Christians of the Isle of *Zocotora*, without the Bay of *Arabia*; that the *Greeks* who inhabit *Greece*, and a great Part of *Natolia, Macedon,* and *Thrace*, together with all the Islands of the *Ægean Sea*, and the other many scattered Islands about the Coasts of *Greece*, celebrate theirs, not indeed, in the Vulgar, but in the pure and antient *Greek* Tongue, as likewise do such of the *Syrians* as are called *Melchites*; the *Gregorians*, and all the Monasteries that are of the *Greek* Religion, wheresoever dispersed within the *Turkish* Dominions in *Africk* or *Asia*; as in Mount *Sinai*, the Cities of *Petra* and *Eltor* in *Arabia*; in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Damascus*, and in several other Places, as *Bellonius* and others have recorded: So that notwithstanding the Attempts of the Church of *Rome* to obtrude their *Latin* Service upon all *Christendom*, it is received by none besides those of her own Communion, and not by all of them; for, as I observed before, it is not used by the *Sclavonians* in *Europe*; nor is it received by the new *Roman* Purchases in *Asia*; of the *Maronites* in *Syria*; and the Christians of *St. Thomas* in *India*, who still retain the old accustomed Language, which is, in the Liturgies of both these Nations, in the *Syriac* Tongue.

Tongue*. I shall conclude my Observations upon this Article with the Confessions of two very learned Persons of the Church of Rome. The first is *Mercer*, Professor of *Hebrew* at *Paris*, who is so free as to say, *Temerè fecerunt*, &c. They amongst us have done rashly, that brought in the Custom of Praying in an unknown Tongue, which very often, neither they themselves, nor our People understand †. And Cardinal *Cajetan* saith, *Melius est*, &c. It is better for our Church, that the Publick Prayers in the Congregation be said in a Tongue common to the Priests and People, and not in *Latin* ‡.

ART. XXIV.


* *Brerewood's Enquiry*, ch. 16.

† *Comment. in Eccles.* 5.

‡ In 1 *Ep. Corinth.* c. 14.





ARTICLE XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

ART. XXV. Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only Badges or Tokens of Christian Mens Profession; but rather they be certain sure Witnesses, and effectual Signs of Grace, and God's Good-will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are States of Life allowed by the Scriptures; but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any

any visible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

ART. XXV.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome Effect or Operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves Damnation, as St. Paul saith.

The EXPOSITION.



SACRAMENTS are indeed so many Marks of Distinction, by which Christians are distinguish'd from Unbelievers; but they are also Visible Signs of an Invisible Grace, and do really convey that Grace to such as worthily receive them. But this is not done by any Power of their own, but by the Operation of the Holy Ghost. Thus Baptism regenerates us, *Acts ii. 38.* *Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins; and ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost.* And *1 Cor. x.* we are told, that the Lord's Supper communicates to us the Body and Blood of Christ.

As for the Number of the Sacraments, since it belongs to Him alone to institute them, who is able to confer the Grace which accompanies them, there cannot be more than those which God himself hath instituted. And those which he hath instituted are but two, *viz.* Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; for to these only doth the Definition of a Sacrament belong.

There are but two Sacraments.

The Institution of these is seen, *Mat. xxviii. 19.* Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And *1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, 26.* For I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus, the same Night in which he was betrayed, took Bread: And when he had given Thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; This is my Body, which is broken for you: This do in Remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come.

As to these five commonly call'd Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, &c. the Word Sacrament was indeed used by the antient Writers of the Church for any sacred or holy Mystery, Rite, or Ceremony; every one calling what holy Thing he pleased a Sacrament: So that according to this extensive Signification of the Word, there can be neither so few Sacraments as those Two which Protestants declare for, nor so few as those Seven which the Church of *Rome* contends for.

BUT the Word Sacrament hath also a proper and limited Signification; and when used according to it, and put to signify an outward Sign of a Covenant betwixt God and Men, appointed by God himself as a Pledge of our Justification, and a Means of our Sanctification, which is the *Ratio Formalis* of a Sacrament, properly speaking, or that without which it cannot possibly be one; it entirely excludes these Five from the Number of Sacraments.

CONFIRMATION is, we confess, an Apostolical Ceremony: As such it is still retained and practised by us: But then it is at most but an Apostolical Ceremony. Christ neither ordained any such Sign, nor made it either the Means of conveying any special Spiritual Grace to us, or a Pledge to assure us thereof.

ART. XXV.

Of Confirmation.

PENANCE, if publick, is confessedly a Part of Church-Discipline: If private, is only the Application of the Power of the Keys to a particular Person for his Comfort and Correction. It has neither any outward Sign instituted by Christ, nor any inward Grace particularly annexed to it. Indeed, if a true Penitent receive Absolution from his Minister, God ratifies the Sentence, and forgives the Sin. But so God would have done, had neither any Confession been made to, or Absolution received from him. And that the Sin is forgiven, is owing to the Mercy of God, upon the Repentance of the Sinner, and not to be ascribed to the Priest's Sentence.

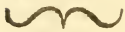
Of Penance.

IN Extreme Unction there is an Outward Sign, but neither of Christ's nor his Apostles Institution. They anointed sick Persons for the Recovery of their bodily Health; and in certain Cases, advised the Elders of the Church to be sent for to do likewise. But as to any Spiritual Effects, they neither used any such Sign themselves, nor recommended it to others: Nor is there any the least Ground on which to expect any such Benefit from the Use of it. 'Tis true, if the Sicknes were inflicted for any particular Sin which the Person had committed, the Healing of the Sicknes was a Token that the

Of Extreme Unction.

Mark vi. 13.
Jam. v. 14, 15.

ART. XXV.



the Sin was also forgiven : Because 'till the Sin was forgiven, the Disease could not be removed. But the Anointing was of no more Use to obtain the one, than it would have had Power, of itself, to effect the other.

Of *Matrimony*.

MATRIMONY is a Holy State, ordained by God, and highly to be accounted of by all Men. It was provided for a Remedy against Sin, and to avoid Fornication ; that such Persons as have not the Gift of Continence might marry, and keep themselves undefiled Members of Christ's Body. But it neither confers any Grace where it is not, nor increases it where it is : And therefore it is not to be looked upon as a true and proper Sacrament.

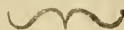
Of *Ordination*.

ORDINATION also is a Divine Institution. By the Administration of it, Authority is given to those who partake of it, to minister in holy Things ; which otherwise it would not have been lawful for them to do. We do not at all doubt but that the Grace of God accompanies this Ordinance, and the Discharge of those Ministeries which are performed in consequence of it. But then this Grace is only the Blessing of God upon a particular Employ, and is given to such Persons rather for the Benefit of others, than for the Furtherance of their own Salvation.

THE Writings of the most early Fathers afford no Light to this Debate : And the Reason is, because there was no Dispute about the Number of Sacraments in their Time. *Peter Lombard*, a Writer of the Twelfth Century, was the first that talk'd of Seven Sacraments. *Eugenius IV.* taught the *Armenians* the same Doctrine

trine *Anno Domini* 1439. The Council of *Trent* afterwards confirm'd it by a Decree, from whence *Pius IV.* inferted it into his new Creed; and so at last the Fancy of a trifling Schoolman became an Article of Faith.

ART. XXV.



ON the other hand, *Justin Martyr*, in his Exposition of our Religion, (in which he declares that he says nothing out of Spite to any Man, or deceitfully) makes Mention of no more than Two Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism, and the Eucharist or Lord's Supper*. *Tertullian* likewise joins these two together, and says nothing of any more. *De Coronâ Militis*, Cap. 3. To pass by *S. Augustine de Doctr. Christi*, Lib. 3. Cap. 9. *Epist.* 118. & 23. *Chrysoptom in Joan.* 85. and to say nothing of Writers of the following Ages. †

WHAT remains of this Article, requiring any-thing to be said upon it, is, that they that receive the Sacraments unworthily, are by *St. Paul* said to purchase to themselves Damnation. This is said by *St. Paul* expressly of the Lord's Supper only; but we are, by what he saith, taught to speak the same of Baptism, inasmuch as it is an Institution of Christ as well as the Lord's Supper. Speaking, *1 Cor.* xi. of the Drunken Communicants at *Corinth*, he saith, *ver.* 29. that *he that receiveth the Lord's Supper unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damna-*

* See his *Apology* from Chap. 79. to the End.

† See *Homily of Common-Prayer and Sacraments*. *Nowell's Cat.* p. 137. *Hammond's Pract. Cat.* Book 6. §. 1. *Jewel's Def. Apol.* Part 2. c. 11. div. 2. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book 5. §. 50, & 57. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 6. q. 1, 2. *Archbishop Wake's Exposition on the Carechism*, §. 42.

tion to himself. What I have here to observe is, that the Word * *Κεῖμα*, which our Translators render *Damnation*, does not here signify Eternal Condemnation, but a Temporal Judgment and Chastisement, in order to prevent Eternal Condemnation. This is plain from the three next Verses : *For this Cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep. For if we should judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned of the World.* †

* Instead of *Κεῖμα* I had put *Κεῖσις* in the First Edition of this Book, for so I found it in all the Editions of Archbishop *Tillotson's* Sermons, which I looked upon as a better Authority than any *Greek Testament* I had by me, and there it hath passed above Forty Years unobserved, at least as far as I could understand. The Truth is, *Κεῖσις* and *Κεῖμα* are derived from the same Verb, and have exactly the same Signification. Nevertheless, since Dr. *Mills*, and all other Editors of the *Greek Testament* that I can meet with, read *Κεῖμα* and not *Κεῖσις*, I have now rather chosen to follow them, than to depend upon the Authority of one great Man, who was, perhaps, too much engaged in the more useful Parts of Learning, to attend to such minute and inconsiderable Parts of Criticism, so as to be exact in Trifles of this Nature.

† See *Tillotson* on 1 *Cor.* xi. 26, 27, 28.



who is most able to supply all our wants, & do abund-
 antly above w^t we can ask or think. from w^m alone
 all things at ist were derived, & to w^m all must be sub-
 ject. whose omnipotence was it, not alw^s in himself
 in him, & inseparable from him. His Nat^l ye Comnd of
 all His Creatures, absolutely subject to him, w^m which they
 wil or not they must obey & none can resist. so no
 word y^t we can put up is impossible with him.
 To this if we add w^t we attribute to G. in y^r last place
 & y^r glory it fills up y^r theology not only y^r per-
 fection hereby ascrib^d to G. but in y^m ground, &
 foundat. of our Hope of obteyning w^t we ask of Him.
 Now y^r Kdome & y^r power w^{ch} we acknowledge
 in y^r fore ~~going~~ has some faith. Illustrat. from
 this. Bec. tho' His Kdome or Dominion be never so
 Absolute in y^r Disposall of all things, & His power
 as unlimited in y^r execution y^r of, yet if we
 have not some Assurance of His Inclination to
 exersit it in such Acts as are most desired of Him
 we may be at a losse in a due relyance upon Him
 for y^r good Success. At y^r fore our Bd Lord
 encourages us by y^r title of our Address to Him
 as our Fath. to imply His great Benignity, & In-
 dulgt Care towards us. So hereby it is more confirm^d
 by owning all glory likew. belongs to Him. while
 we take it for y^r Acknowledgmt of all propriety
 in Him y^t ^{are} His glory, Honourable, or prais-
 worthy, among w^{ch} Infinite Good: Benignity, &
 Readinesse to relieve y^r Exigency, & necessity of
 His Creatures y^t depend on Him, & Pleas to Him
 must be lookt among y^r Chief Excellencies to be
 celebrated by y^m, & wil be so esteem^d by all.

ledge of their Offences: and finally, being found guilty, by just Judgment be deposed.

The EXPOSITION.



HE Ministers of the Gospel do not minister their own, but Christ's Sacraments; and the Church in receiving them, hath Respect to Christ himself, and not to them; and therefore receives them not so much from the Ministers as from Christ, by their Hands. For the Virtue and Efficacy of them cannot, since it depends on Christ alone, be hindered by the Wickedness of a Minister, how wicked soever he may be. So likewise in hearing the Word of God, it is the Duty of a good Christian to regard not so much the Life and Conversation of the Person that speaketh, as the Truth and Reasonableness of what is spoken by him. *Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, saith St. Paul, but Ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every Man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the Increase. So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the Increase, 1 Cor. iii. 5, 6, 7. And Matth. xxiii. 2, 3. our Saviour observes, that the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's Seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, continues he, that observe and do; but do not ye after their Works; for they say, and do not. Some indeed, saith St. Paul, preach Christ even of Envy and Strife; and some also of Good-Will. The one preach Christ of Contention, not sincerely, supposing to add Affliction to my Bonds: But the other of Love, knowing that I am set for*
the

the Defence of the Gospel. What then? Notwithstanding every Way, whether in Pretence, or in Truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice, Phil. i. 15, 16, 17, 18.

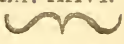
ART. XXVI.

A MINISTER, saith S. *Augustine*, that is, a Dispenser of the Word and Sacraments of the Gospel; if he be a good Man, is a Companion of the Gospel's, if a bad Man, he is not therefore no Dispenser of the Gospel. *Peter* and other good Men preached it; *Judas* did the same, though unwillingly; notwithstanding being sent with them, he preached it. They have their Reward, to him a Dispensation was committed.*

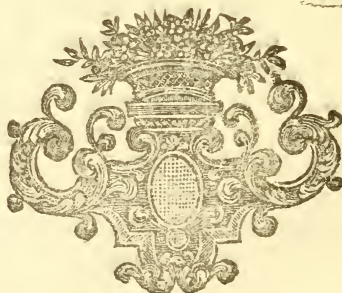
NEVERTHELESS, the Church hath a Power to depose such Ministers as are scandalously wicked. *Against an Elder*, saith St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, receive not an Accusation, but before two or three Witnesses. Which proves that Elders or Presbyters were subject to *Timothy's* Jurisdiction; and to no Purpose was *Timothy* invested with Power over them, if he could not by Virtue of it force them to do their Duty, or remove such as brought a Scandal upon Religion from the Exercise of the Ministerial Function; it being certain, that many times nothing less than this is a sufficient Remedy for so great and lamentable an Evil. St. *John* likewise, in his Third Epistle, ver. 10. threatens to remember the Deeds of *Diotrephes*.

* Contra Lit. Petiliani, lib. 3. c. 55.

ART. XXVI.


 WHATEVER is wanting in these Places of Scripture, which might serve to make the Point we are upon very clear, is abundantly supply'd by the Practice of the Primitive Church ; which is, as I have observed before more than once, the best of Commentaries. Thus S. Cyprian, speaking of *Felicissimus*, a Deacon, hath these Words — Let him know, that he is cast out from among us ; inasmuch as over and above his Frauds and Thefts, of which we are very certain that he is guilty, he is also charged with Adultery, which some of our Brethren, who are grave Men, declare they have caught him in, and have engaged themselves to make good the Charge.*

* Epist. 41. See *Whitgift's Def. Tract.* 9. c. 3. *Nelson's Festivals*, c. 13. and *Fasts*, c. 10. *Field of the Church*, Book 1. c. 14. See the Second Part of the Clergyman's *Vade Mecum*.





ARTICLE XXVII.

Of BAPTISM.

Baptism is not only a Sign of Profession, and Mark of Difference, whereby Christian Men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a Sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church: The Promises of the Forgiveness of Sin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: Faith is confirmed and Grace increased by virtue of Prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the Institution of Christ.

ART. XXVII.

The EXPOSITION.



BAPTISM among the sacred Writers signifies any Washing, whether it be by Dipping or Sprinkling; in which soever of these Manners it be administered, it points out to us, significantly enough, the Grace which is conferred by this Sacrament. For as the Filth of the Body is washed away with Water, so the Pollution of the Soul is done

ART. XXVII. away by Remission of Sins ; and as in Dipping 'tis intimated that we are buried, and rise again with Christ, so in Sprinkling, 'tis hinted, that we are dead and born again. For as the immersing or dipping the Body of the Baptized, represents the Burial of a dead Corpse under Ground, so also the sprinkling or pouring Water upon the Party, answers to the covering or throwing Earth upon a Person so dead. And as a Death unto Sin is thus figured by either of these Ceremonies, and the Postures we are in when they are performed on us ; so likewise a Life, or Rising again unto Righteousness, is as significantly by the Removal or Absence of the one, as well as by the Removal or Absence of the other. *He saved us, saith St. Paul, Tit. iii. 5. by the Washing of Regeneration, and Renewing of the Holy Ghost.* “ We descend into the “ Water, saith *Barnabas*, full of Sins and “ Filth, and ascend out of it full of Fruits or “ Benefits, having Fear in our Hearts, and “ Hope towards the Lord in the Spirit.” *

“ As many as are persuaded, saith *Justin Martyr*, and do believe that those Things “ which are taught and declared by us are true, “ and promise to lead Lives agreeable thereto, “ — are by us brought to the Water, and “ receive the Means of Regeneration, as we “ have done before them.” †

THEY that are rightly baptized, that is, they that receive it in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, together

* *Epist. c. 11.*

† *Apol. 1. c. 79.*

with a serious Profession of Faith and Repentance, are thereby grafted into the Church: *For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one Body,* 1 Cor. xii. 13. To them the Promises of the Forgiveness of Sin are visibly signed and sealed; and therefore, the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, exhorts them to *draw near to God with a true Heart, in full Assurance of Faith, having their Hearts sprinkled from an evil Conscience, and their Bodies washed with pure Water,* Heb. x. 32. *Justin Martyr* says §, that we receive in, or by Water, the Remission of all our past Sins. And *Theophilus* of *Antioch* speaks of Mens receiving Repentance and Remission of Sins by Water, and the Laver of Regeneration, even as many as come unto it in Truth, and are born again, and receive the Blessing of God *.

THE Promises of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are likewise signed and sealed to them; *Gal. iii. 26, 27. For ye are all the Children of God by Faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.* By Baptism, Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by Virtue of Prayer unto God. Thus we see, *Acts ii. 41, 42.* with how ardent a Zeal the New Converts behaved themselves after they had been baptized, *continuing stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, &c.*
 “ This washing, saith *Justin Martyr*, is called a
 “ Light, by which ’tis intimated, that the
 “ Minds of such as understand these Things
 “ are inlightened.” ‡

§ *Ibid. c. 80.*

* *Ad Autol. lib. 2. p. 109.*

‡ *Apol. 1. c. 80.*

ART. XXVII.

THAT baptizing of young Children is most agreeable with the Institution of Christ, I prove thus :

*Infant Baptism
lawful.*

IF our Saviour hath declared that none but baptized Persons can enter into the Kingdom of God ; and if he hath declared that young Children are capable of entring, it follows, that he intended they should be baptized.

BUT our Saviour hath declared, that none but baptized Persons are capable of entring into the Kingdom of God, *John iii. 5. Jesus answered, Verily verily I say unto thee, Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. And that young Children are capable of entring, Mark x. 14. Suffer the little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God. Therefore he intended they should be baptized.*

'T IS easy to foresee the Objections that will be raised against this Argument, and therefore I think fit to add, that I am far from sending all unbaptized Persons to Hell, but that the Question is about covenanted Mercies, and covenanted Privileges. Where the Qualifications necessary for the obtaining of these cannot be had, I have as great Confidence in the Goodness of God as any Man. And lest the ordinary Reader should think those Words of our Saviour before-mentioned (*Except a Man be born, &c.*) to contain an Objection against what I am endeavouring to prove, I add, that the Words in the Original are, *Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ, &c.* that is, *except a Person be born, &c.* so that they take in both Sexes, and all Ages. Secondly, I prove that

that the Baptizing of young Children is most agreeable to Christ's Institution, from *Mat. xxviii. 19.* where *all Nations are commanded to be baptized.* It will be answered, That our Saviour saith in this Text, *Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them :* I reply therefore, That the *Greek Word*, which is here rendered *Teach*, ought to have been rendered *Disciple*, and then the Words would have run thus; *Go ye therefore and Disciple all Nations.* A Disciple is a Scholar, which a Child may be before he begins to learn any thing.

THE Word I am speaking of, as not rightly rendered, is *Μαθητεύσατε*; concerning which, *Archbp. Tillotson, Bishop Beveridge, Dr. Ellis,* and many other Learned Men, have made the same Observation with me.

I HAVE also looked into several Places of the New Testament; and where I find the Word *Teach* made use of in the Sense which the *Anabaptists* would have this Word bear, I find the Verb *Διδάσκω*, or some Word or other derived from it in the Original*.

THE Sum of this Argument is, That if all Nations are commanded to be baptized, it follows, that Infants as well as grown Persons are included within this Command.

THIRDLY, I prove the Point we are upon from *I Cor. vii. 14.* *For the unbelieving Husband is sanctified by the Wife, and the unbelieving*

* See *1 Tim. ii. 7. ch. iv. ver. 11. ch. iii. ver. 2. 2 Tim. ii. 2. Eph. iv. 11. Tit. i. 11. Mat. xxviii. 20.*

ART. XXVII. *Wife is sanctified by the Husband: Else were your Children unclean: but now are they holy.*

IN order to explain as much of this Text as is absolutely necessary for our present Purpose, let us observe the Use of the Word which is here rendered Unclean in another Place of Scripture. We read, *Acts* x. that St. *Peter* in his Vision refuseth to eat any thing Common or Unclean; where it seems by the Sequel, that Unclean Men are those which are not visible Members of the Church, and therefore must not be allowed the Privileges of it. For God reforming his Error, bids him call nothing, that is, no Man, Common or Unclean, whom he had cleansed or sanctified, that is, whom he had reputed fit to partake of the Privileges of Preaching and Baptism.

BY Analogy with which Place, and Use of the Word Unclean, it is most reasonable that these Words [*Now are they holy*] should signify [*Now are your Children thought fit to be Partakers of the Privileges of the Church*] that is, being capable of no other, of being admitted to Baptism, which the Children of Heathens are not.

IN the last Place, let me desire, That the Testimony of the antient Fathers may have as much Weight in this Argument, as the *Anabaptists* must give it, whenever they attempt to prove the Scriptures to be written at the Times when we suppose they were, and by the Persons who are believed to have been the Writers of them. After this Request, which I am sure is no unreasonable one, let me observe to them, that *Iræneus* tells us †, that Christ came to

† *Adv. Hær. lib. 2. c. 39.*

save us all by himself, all that are born again in God through him, Infants and young Children, and Boys, and Young and Old. And that I have, under the *Ninth Article*, taken Notice of these Words of *St. Cyprian*, in his 64th Epistle; — “ If
 “ Remission of Sins be given to the greatest of
 “ Sinners, and those that grievously offend God,
 “ if they afterwards believe, and if no Person
 “ be kept back from Baptism and the Grace of
 “ God; by how much more ought not an In-
 “ fant to be restrained or kept back from these
 “ Benefits, which being but newly born, hath
 “ committed no Sin, &c.” †

THERE is one Objection against Infant-Baptism which I had like to have forgotten, and which I must by no means neglect. Our Saviour hath said, *Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.* From whence our Adversaries argue, that Infants can't be capable of Baptism, because not capable of believing. My Answer is, That the Words which immediately follow, — *But he that believeth not, shall be damned,* shew plainly, that our Saviour is speaking only of grown Persons, who were capable of hearing the Word of God, and believing or disbelieving; because Infants, as I have shewn before, are declared, *chap. x.* capable of Salvation. This Text therefore, only proves that grown Persons should not be baptized, if they do not believe the Gospel; but it no more excludes Infants from Baptism,

† See *Nowell's Catech.* pag. 141. *Hammond's Pract. Cat.* Book VI. §. 2, 3. *Wall's History of Infant-Baptism and Conference.* *Walker's Modest Plea.* *Jewel's Def. Apol.* Part II. c. 11. Div. 3.

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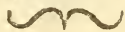
than what St. Paul saith, Rom. ii. 28, 29. proves that the Jews acted irregularly in circumcising their Children when eight Days old. His Words are these, *For he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that Circumcision which is outward in the Flesh: But he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and Circumcision is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whose Praise is not of Men, but of God.*

Upon the Whole, I cannot but offer two Things more to the Reader's most serious Consideration, which, whenever I think of them, never fail of having a very great Influence upon me in relation to this Controversy. 1. The First is, That throughout the long Disputes with *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, and their Followers, who were Men of Note before the Year 400, about Original Sin, the Lawfulness or Necessity of Infant-Baptism were never called in Question, though the setting it aside would have been of the last Importance to the *Pelagian* Heresy; and though both *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, were Men of much greater Learning, Subtlety, and Penetration, than any that have appeared in Favour of the *Anabaptists*: Nay, they are so far from denying either, that when St. *Augustine* mentions it as a Practice of the whole Church from the Apostles Time; they do not deny it, but own it, as the Reader may see at large, in the 19th Chapter of Dr. *Wall's* History of *Infant-Baptism*, Part I. Only they said, That in the Case of an Infant, Baptism is not for Forgiveness of Sin (though they were afterwards driven from this Hold) but to procure the Child an Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For they held, That an Infant dying unbaptized, shall be raised again, and live eternally in a Middle State, with-

without Punishment, as having no Sin ; but not enjoying the Kingdom of Heaven, as being not baptized into Christ. But that a baptized Infant shall go into the Kingdom of Heaven.

ART. XXVII.

2. THE Second Thing I have to offer, is contained in the Great, Learned, and Judicious Bishop *Sanderſon's* Preface to his Sermons, *Seſt.* 23. “ The Reverend Archbishop *Whitgift*, “ and the Learned *Hooker*, Men of great Judgment, and Famous in their Times, did long “ ſince foreſee, and accordingly declared their “ Fear, that if ever *Puritanism* ſhould prevail “ among us, it would ſoon draw in Anabaptiſm “ after it. At this *Cartwright*, and the other “ Advocates for the *Disciplinarian* Intereſt in “ thoſe Days, ſeemed to take great Offence, as “ if thoſe Fears were rather pretended, to derive “ an Odium upon them, than that there was “ otherwiſe any juſt Cauſe for the ſame ; pro- “ teſting ever their utter Diſlike of Anabaptiſm, “ and how free they were from the leaſt Thought “ of introducing it. But this was only their “ own Miſtake, or rather Jealouſy ; for thoſe “ godly Men were neither ſo unadviſed, nor ſo uncharitable, as to become Judges of other “ Mens Thoughts or Intentions, beyond what “ their Actions ſpoke them. They only con- “ ſidered, as prudent Men, that *Anabaptiſm* “ had its Riſe from the ſame Principles the “ *Puritans* held ; and its Growth from the ſame “ Courſe they took, together with the natural “ Tendency of thoſe Principles and Practices “ towards it ; eſpecially of that one Principle, “ as it was by them miſunderſtood, that the “ Scripture was *Adæquata agendorum regula*, ſo “ as nothing might be *lawfully done* without ex- “ preſs *Warrant*, either from ſome *Command*, “ or



“ or *Example* therein contained. The Clue
 “ whereof, if followed on as far as it would lead,
 “ would certainly in Time carry them as far as
 “ the *Anabaptists* were then gone. But that it
 “ was no vain Fear, the unhappy Event hath
 “ proved, and justified them, since what they
 “ feared is now come to pass, and that in a very
 “ high Degree : Yet did not they see the
 “ Thread drawn out to that Length as we have
 “ seen it (the Name of *Quakers, Seekers, &c.*
 “ not having been then heard of in the World)
 “ but how much farther it will reach, none can
 “ say ; for no Man yet ever saw the Bottom of
 “ *the Clue.*” Then he goes on to shew how pro-
 bable it is, from the great Scandal and Advan-
 tages given to Papists by our Confusions, that
 Popery will over-run all at last ; intimating,
 thrt while so many several Parties of Protestants
 are still crumbling into Factions and Fractions,
 biting, and ready to devour one another, a
 vigilant Adversary, that is intent upon all *Ad-*
vantages and Opportunities, may, when he spieth
 his Time, overmaster them with much Ease
 and little Resistance.





ARTICLE XXVIII.

Of the LORD'S-SUPPER.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a Sign ART. XXVIII. of the Love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's Death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive the same, the Bread which we break, is a Partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing, is a Partaking of the Blood of Christ: Transubstantiation (or the Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occasion to many Superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and Spiritual Manner. And the Mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

ART. XXVIII. *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's Ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.*

THE EXPOSITION.



THE Lord's Supper is, indeed, a Sign of that mutual Love, and intimate Fellowship that is, or ought to be among Christians. *For we being many, are one Bread, and one Body; for we are all Partakers of that one Bread, 1 Cor. x. 17.* Relation is one of the strongest Obligations to Friendship; and by this Text 'tis declared, that by receiving the Lord's Supper we are made Members one of another. But it chiefly serves to point out to us the Sacrifice and Death of Christ, as an Atonement for our Sins, which it really exhibits to all such as worthily partake of the Sacred Elements of Bread and Wine, as appears from the following Places of Scripture; *Mat. xxvi. 26, 27, 28. And as they were eating, Jesus took Bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the Disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my Body. And he took the Cup, and gave Thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: For this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the Remission of Sins. And Luke xxii. 19, 20. And he took Bread, and gave Thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my Body which is given for you; this do in Remembrance of me. Likewise also the Cup after Supper, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, which is shed for you.*

IF Men come to the Lord's Supper with due Preparation, and receive it worthily, *The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? And the Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?* 1 Cor. x. 16. ART. XXVIII.

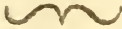
“ WE receive not the Lord's Supper, saith
 “ *Justin Martyr*, as Common Bread or Com-
 “ mon Drink. But as our Saviour Jesus Christ
 “ was by the Word of God made Flesh, and
 “ laid down both his Flesh and his Blood for our
 “ Salvation; so we have learned that this Food
 “ which hath been sanctified by the Word of
 “ Prayer and Thanksgiving, and by the Con-
 “ version of which our Blood and Flesh are
 “ nourished, is the Flesh and Blood of that same
 “ Jesus who was made Flesh *.” “ The Bread
 “ which is from the Earth, saith *Irenæus*, re-
 “ ceiving the Divine Invocation, is now no
 “ longer Common Bread, but the Eucharist or
 “ Sacrament, consisting of two Things; the
 “ one Earthly, the other Heavenly §.”

BY Transubstantiation, is meant a Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine into the Substance of Christ's Flesh and Blood, not in a Figurative but Real Manner. A Notion the most absurd of any in the World, if any Credit be to be given to our Reason and Senses. 'Tis likewise contradicted by the Scripture, which

* Apol. I. c. 86.

§ Adver. Hær. lib. 4. c. 34.

See *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book V. §. 67. *Jewel's Def.* Apol. Part II. c. 12. div. 1.

ART. XXVIII.  calls the Elements *that Bread and that Cup* even after Consecration, 1 Cor. xi. 28. And even by the very Canon of the Mass, in which 'tis prayed, that the Eucharist or Sacrament may become to us the Body and Blood of Christ; a plain Intimation that it is not so in itself, in the Sense which I am now opposing.

MOREOVER, this Doctrine of Transubstantiation overthrows the Nature of a Sacrament; for nothing can be a Sacrament, or a Sign of itself. And finally, it hath given Occasion to much Superstition; to lifting up of the Sacrament, and carrying of it about, and indeed to worshipping of it, which is no less than Idolatry.

IT cannot be denied, but that the Fathers do, and that with great Reason, very much magnify the wonderful Mystery and Efficacy of this Sacrament, and frequently speak of a great Supernatural Change made by the Divine Benediction; which we also readily acknowledge. They say, indeed, that the Elements of Bread and Wine, do by the Divine Blessing become to us the Body and Blood of Christ: But they likewise say, that the Names of the Things signified are given to the Signs; that the Bread and Wine do still remain in their proper Nature and Substance, and that they are turned into the Substance of our Bodies; that the Body of Christ in the Sacrament is not his Natural Body, but the Sign and Figure of it; not that Body which was crucified, nor that Blood which was shed upon the Cross; and that it is impious to understand the eating of the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drinking his Blood literally.

THUS *Irenæus*, in that remarkable Testimony of his, preserved by *OEcumenius*, saith as follows, “ — When the *Greeks* had taken some Servants of the Christian *Catechumeni* (that is, such as had not been admitted to the Sacrament) and afterwards urged them by Violence to tell them some of the Secrets of the Christians; these Servants having nothing to say that might gratify those who offered Violence to them, except only, that they had heard from their Masters, that the Divine Communion was the Blood and Body of Christ; they, thinking that it was really Blood and Flesh, declared as much to those that questioned them. The *Greeks* taking this as if it were really done by the Christians, discovered it to others of the *Greeks*, who hereupon put *Sanctus* and *Blandina* to the Torture to make them confess it. To whom *Blandina* boldly answered, How would they endure to do this, who by way of Exercise (or Abstinence) do not eat that Flesh which may be lawfully eaten †.” “ The Bread which our Saviour took, saith *Tertullian*, and distributed to his Disciples, he made his own Body, saying, *This is my Body*; that is, the Image and Figure of my Body. But it could not have been the Figure of his Body, if there had not been a true and real Body †.”

S. *CYPRIAN* hath a whole Epistle to *Cæcilius* against those who gave the Communion in Water only, without Wine mingled with it; and his main Argument against them is this,

† Comment. in 1 *Pet.* c. 3.

‡ Adver. Marcion, lib. 4. c. 40.

ART. XXVIII. That the Blood of Christ, with which we are redeemed and quickened, cannot seem to be in the Cup, when there is no Wine in the Cup by which the Blood of Christ is represented †. So that if there be any Transubstantiation, it is of Blood into Wine, and not of Wine into Blood; and since the Blood is represented by the Wine, the Wine cannot be the Blood itself, since nothing can be a Sign or Representation of itself.

THE Body of Christ therefore is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, after an Heavenly and Spiritual Manner only: Which agrees with St. *Augustine's* way of explaining *John vi. 57.* In his Treatise *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, he lays down several Rules for the right Understanding of Scripture. Among others he lays down this: "If, says he, the
 " Speech be a Precept forbidding some heinous
 " Wickedness or Crime, or commanding us to
 " do Good, it is not Figurative; but if it seem
 " to command any heinous Wickedness or
 " Crime, or to forbid that which is profitable
 " and beneficial to others, it is Figurative.
 " For Example, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the*
 " *Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no*
 " *Life in you:* This seems to command a
 " heinous Wickedness and Crime; therefore it is
 " a Figure commanding us to communicate
 " of the Passion of our Lord; and with De-
 " light and Advantage to lay up in our Me-
 " mory, that his Flesh was crucified and
 " wounded for us *."

† Epist. 63.

* Lib. 3. c. 16.

See *Nowell's* Cat. p. 150. *Jewel's* Def. Apol. Part II. c. 13. div. 1. and Reply, Art. 5, 10, 25, 26. Rubrick after the Communion Service. *Mason de Min. Angl.* Book V. c. 6. *Tillotson's* Discourse against Transubstantiation.

THE Mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Lord's Supper, is Faith. For since our Saviour hath said, *John vi. 53. Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*: And since he saith, ver. 47. that *he that believeth on him, hath everlasting Life*; 'tis manifest that Faith is the Mean whereby the Body of Christ is eaten †.

ART. XXVIII.


As to the last Sentence of this Article, which relates to reserving, carrying about, lifting up, and worshipping the Lord's Supper; 'tis true, as the Article asserts, that all this is no Part of Christ's Ordinance; who, when he instituted the Lord's Supper, said, *Take, eat, drink; but not keep, carry about, &c. ||*

† See Homily on the Sacrament. Part I. *Nowelli Cat.* p. 77, 150. *Jewel's Def. Apol.* Part II. c. 13. div. 1. *Bilson of Christian Subjection.* Part IV. p. 582, &c.

|| See *Jewel's Def. Apol.* Part II. c. 15. div. 1. and Reply, Art. VII, VIII, IX.





ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the Wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the Use of the Lord's Supper.

ART. XXIX. *The Wicked, and such as be void of a lively Faith, altho' they do carnally and visibly press with their Teeth (as S. Augustin saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: Yet in no wise are they Partakers of Christ, but rather to their Condemnation do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a Thing.*

The EXPOSITION.



HIS Article is an Inference or Deduction from the former. For since a lively Faith is the Mean whereby we eat the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper; it follows, that wicked Men, who have not this Faith, cannot possibly be Partakers of Christ. And St. *John* tells us, *1 John* i. 6. that if we say that we have Fellowship with him, and walk in Darkness, we lye, and do not the Truth: But if we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of *Jesus Christ his Son* cleanseth us from all Sin. That such wicked Men receive

receive the Sacramental Bread and Wine, eat and drink Condemnation or Judgment to themselves, and sin against Christ, by using such Things as are Holy in an unworthy Manner, hath been already proved from 1 Cor. xi. 29. under the XXVth Article.

MOREOVER, this Article which I am now considering, which is drawn up in the very Words of St. *Augustine* in his XXVIth Treatise on St. *John*, plucks up the Doctrine of Transubstantiation by the Roots. For if the Elements of Bread and Wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, strictly and literally speaking, no Reason can be assigned why wicked Men, and even Mice, may not eat the Body of Christ. Thus much they of the Church of *Rome* acknowledge, and say withal, that the Host, or Sacramental Bread, by whomsoever, or whatsoever devoured, is the Body of Christ, as long as any Appearance of it remains. So that according to this Doctrine, we must give no Credit to what S. *Paul* saith to the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. x. 21. *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: Ye cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils.* Or to what he saith Chap. xi. ver. 20. where, speaking of their disorderly Communion, he tells them, that *this was not eating of the Lord's Supper* *.

* See *Antonini Florent. Summ.* Part III. c. 6. §. 3. *Nowelli* Cat. p. 153, 154. *Bilson* of Christian Subjection. Part IV. p. 628. *Field* of the Church. Book III. Append. c. 18.



ARTICLE XXX.

Of both KINDS.

ART. XXX.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay People: For both the Parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian Men alike.

The EXPOSITION.



THAT St. Paul saith 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28. about Eating the Sacramental Bread, and Drinking the Cup is addressed to the whole Church of Corinth. I have had Occasion to mention the Words of this Place already, and therefore I shall not repeat them.

WHERE-EVER the Institution of the Lord's Supper is mentioned, there is not the least Hint that the Clergy are to receive it in one manner, and the Laity in another. And if one Part of this Sacrament be more necessary than the other, it seems to be the Cup, since it represents the Blood of Christ, to which Remission of Sins, and our Redemption, are more often ascribed in Scripture than to his Body. 'Tis trifling for those

those of the Church of *Rome* to say, that he who receives the Body of Christ, does therewith receive the Blood too; since it appears from so many Places of Scripture, that it was the Design of our Blessed Saviour, in this Sacrament to represent his crucified Body, his Body as it was given for us, particularly from *1 Cor. xi. 26. Luke xxii. 19, 20.* Now we know that when he suffered, his Blood was shed, and let out of his Body; and that to represent his Blood thus separated from his Body, the Cup was consecrated apart by him. He seems likewise to have guarded designedly against this Piece of Sacrilege of denying the Cup to the Laity, by commanding that all who were present at the Institution of it should drink of it, *Mat. xxvi. 27.* And *Mark xiv. 23.* 'tis said, that all of them did drink of it; which is no where said expressly of eating the Bread.

BUT those of the Church of *Rome* object, That this is applicable to none but the Apostles, who represented the whole Christian Priesthood that was to be; and that therefore, by this Argument, none but Priests have a Right to partake of the Cup. To which I reply, That the sad Consequence of this will be, that the Laity have no Right at all, either to the Bread or the Wine, because it was confessedly the same Company that ate the one and drank the other. They return, That the Apostles were Laymen when they received the Bread, but were made Priests immediately before they received the Cup, by these Words, *Do this.* A short Ordination, and a notable Argument! But it happened, that our Blessed Saviour said, *Do this,* just as he gave them the Bread, and spoke them in one continued Sentence with, *Take, Eat:*

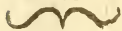
Eat: This is my Body; so that whether he gave the Bread severally to each of them, or they took it as it was upon the Table, as it is said, *they divided the Cup among themselves*; it cannot be supposed but that those Words *Do this*, were spoken by Christ before the Apostles did receive the Bread, at least before they ate it; and so it may be as fairly pretended, that they ate the Bread as Priests, as well as drank the Wine as such: So that I hope it now plainly appears, how far, and into what intolerable Absurdities, this subtle and fine-spun Hypothesis, will, if it be closely followed, unavoidably lead us.

SECONDLY, We are told by those of the Church of *Rome*, “ That the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper may be taken sometimes in one kind, sometimes in both, as it seems proper and expedient to the Church, which is certainly left to her Liberty, to order and dispose as she pleases, whensoever the Scripture, or Almighty God does not otherwise determine.” I answer, *What God hath joined together let not Man put asunder.* ’Tis true, this Saying of our Saviour’s is applied to a particular Case of a different Nature from that before us; but then ’tis certain, that ’tis a general Proposition, and, by Consequence, applicable to whatever is within the same Reason and Equity. But as what I have here said supposes the Reverse of the Objection to be true, and that there is a Command to receive in both Kinds, I make bold to assert, That the Institution of the Sacrament is such a Command, as much as the Institution of the Sabbath is to be looked upon as a Command to observe it. An Institution and a Command are the very same Thing, and differ only in Sound. And as ’tis possible, that an Institution

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tion or Command may consist of several Articles or Branches, so every one of these is of equal Force and Obligation with the whole ; and therefore the Church hath no more Power to keep back one Part of the Lord's Supper, than she hath to abrogate the whole of it. And if any Cavil arise about the Words of the Institution, I add, as I have observed before, that the Words of *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.* are addressed to the whole Church, and must be allowed to be an indisputable Comment upon the Words of our Blessed Saviour, which he recites in this very Chapter. In the 27th Verse of this Chapter, *Monfieur Boileau*, and the Author of a Book intituled, *A Catholick Answer to Mr. Barret's Sermon*, would gladly find something for either eating or drinking, without doing both ; which is such a Shift and Cavil, as nothing would make a Man catch at, but such a desperate Cause as hath nothing else to be said for it : If the Particle, *ñ*, or, were used in that Place instead of *æ*, and, yet he has but little Skill either in *Greek* or *Latin* Authors, who knows not that it is the commonest Thing in both, to use that Disjunctive for a Copulative ; as, *to Abraham or his Seed*, for *to Abraham and his Seed*, *Rom. iv. 13.* Of which it were easy to give innumerable Instances, both in the Bible and profane History : The Apostle having used the Copulative in all other Verses, and all along in this Chapter ; and having joined eating and drinking, cannot be supposed here to use a Disjunctive, and to separate them ; but after all, there are Copies of as great Credit and Authority for the Particle *æ*, and, as for *ñ*, or, though I think no such Weight bears upon the Difference of these Particles, as to make it worth our while to examine them ; for if the Apostles

did



did disjoin them, it was only to lay a greater Emphasis upon the Guilt of unworthy eating and drinking, which though they both go together, yet are both very great Sins; and I see no manner of Consequence, that because a Man may both eat and drink unworthily, that therefore he should only eat, and not drink at all; or that the Apostles supposed it lawful to eat without drinking, or drink without eating. In a Word, the next Verse, *But let a Man examine himself*, &c. is liable to no such little Piece of Criticism, and not only clears the Point, and settles it on our Side of the Question, but likewise exhibits a Command for receiving in both Kinds. Here likewise we have a Key to let us into the Meaning of all those Places in the Acts of the Apostles, wherein 'tis said of the first Converts to Christianity, that they continued in breaking of Bread, and in Prayer, and in breaking of Bread from House to House, and that they came together on the first Day of the Week, to break Bread, ch. ii. 42, 46. and ch. xx. 7. By a usual Synecdoche both eating and drinking are included in the Phrase of breaking of Bread; as in *Isaiab* lviii. 7. and *Lament*. iv. 4. and *Luke* xiv. 1. And *Boileau*, *Monsieur de Meaux*, and *Valentia*, do agree, That the Priests ought always to consecrate the Eucharist in both Kinds; and *Bellarmino* owns, That the taking of both Species is necessary to the Priests that consecrate*. So that the Argument which the *Romanists* fetch from those Places in the *Acts*,

* *Sec Boileau de Com. sub utraque specie*, p. 207. *Monsieur de Meaux*, on the same Subject, p. 182. *Valentia de usu Sacram.* c. 13. *Bellarmino de Euch.* c. 4.

is too high charged, and recoils upon themselves. I shall conclude this Part of the Argument with the Words of St. *Cyprian*, in his 63d Epistle, which I shall presently quote more at large. They relate, indeed, immediately to those who were for omitting the Wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and using Water in the Room of it; but they are so generally expressed, that it will be far from being impertinent to make use of them in this Place, and upon this Occasion. " But if it be
 " not lawful to loose any one of the least Com-
 " mands of Christ, how much more is it not
 " lawful to infringe so great and so weighty
 " ones? and such as the very Sacrament of our
 " Lord's Passion, and our Redemption; and
 " to change it by Human Institution, into
 " quite another Thing, than what it is by
 " Divine Institution?"

JUSTIN MARTYR, speaking of the Manner of receiving the Lord's Supper in his Time, hath these Words: " Afterwards there are
 " brought to him that presides among the Bre-
 " thren, Bread, and a Cup of Water, and
 " Wine and Water. And he having taken
 " them, gives Praise and Glory to God, the
 " Father of all Men, in the Name of the Son,
 " and of the Holy Ghost: And gives hearty
 " Thanks to God, because he hath vouchsafed
 " to receive these Things at our Hands. Having
 " made an end of his Prayers and Thank-
 " giving, all the People that are present praise
 " God, saying *Amen*. The chief Minister
 " having thus given Thanks, and all the People
 " having praised God, such as are among us
 " called Deacons, give to every one present
 " some of the Eucharistical or Sacramental
 " Bread,

“ Bread, and Wine and Water, that they may receive it *.”

“ TAKE care, saith *Ignatius*, to use one Eucharist: For there is but one Body of our Lord Jesus Christ; and one Cup according to the Unity of his Blood †.”

“ THE Baptism of saving Water, saith *St. Cyprian*, is but once received, and is repeated no more; but the Cup of the Lord is always thirsted after, and drank in his Church. — Since we make mention of his Passion in all our Sacrifices (for the Passion of our Lord is the Sacrifice that we offer) we ought to do nothing but what he did. For the Scripture saith, *For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come.* — For to shew forth the Justification and the Testament of our Lord, and not to do the same which the Lord hath done; what is it, but a casting his Sayings behind our Backs, and despising the Lord's Discipline, and a committing not Earthly, but Spiritual Thefts and Adulteries; since he that steals from the Truth of the Gospel such Words as our Lord hath spoken, and such Facts as he hath done, corrupts and adulterates the Divine Precepts. And again, How do we teach or encourage those who are to fight Christ's Battles, to spend their Blood in the Confession of his Name, if, when they are going to engage, we deny them the Blood of Christ? Or how shall we make them fit for


* Apol. 1. c. 85.

† Epist. ad Philad.

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“ the Cup of Martyrdom, if we do not before
“ admit them to drink the Cup of the Lord in
“ the Church which they have a Right to partake
“ take of? ” †

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† Epist. 63.

See *Nowell's* Cat. p. 149. *Jewel's* Def. Apol. Part II. c. 12. div. 3. and Reply, Art. II. Discourse of Communion in one Kind. *Hammond's* Pract. Cat. Book VI. §. 4. *Bilson's* of Christian Subj. Part IV. p. 494. *Field of the Church*. Append. to the 3d Book, p. 193. Archbp. *Wake's* Exposition on the Catechism, §. 47.





ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finish'd upon the Cross.

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The Offering of Christ once made, is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and actual; and there is none Satisfaction for Sin, but that alone. Wherefore the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the Quick and the Dead, to have Remission of Pain or Guilt, were blasphemous Fables, and dangerous Deceits.

The EXPOSITION.



THE Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us, chap. x. 10. that *we are sanctified through the Suffering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all.* St. Ignatius tells us †, that the Suffering of Christ is our Resurrection. Irenæus §, that 'tis one and the same Jesus Christ, the Son of God,

† Epist. ad Smyr.
§ Lib. 3. c. 18.

who by his Passion hath reconciled us to God ; and that he hath truly saved us. And again, that for this Cause Christ died, that the Testament of the Gospel being open to, and read by the whole World, might first make those free who were in Bondage, and afterwards make them Heirs of such Things as were his ||.

SINCE then the Offering which Christ made upon the Cross was sufficient, what Occasion is there for any more? And indeed, the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in the 26th Verse of the Chapter before-mentioned, speaking of Apostates from Christianity, saith, that *there remained no further Sacrifice for Sin*, after they had renounced the great Sacrifice he had been speaking of.

AND further, If Christ himself be truly offered in the Mass, it follows, that he is also slain again, which is shocking and absurd to suppose: *For then must he often have suffered since the Foundation of the World ; but now once in the End of the World, hath he appeared to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himself, Heb. ix. 26.* 'Tis likewise a necessary Consequence of this Doctrine, that the Blood of Christ is often shed, which is likewise shocking to suppose ; for we are told, ver. 22. of this Chapter, that *without shedding of Blood there is no Remission.* St. Cyprian * hath indeed these Words, “ We make mention of his (Christ’s) Passion in all our Sacrifices ; for the Passion of the Lord is the Sacrifice that we offer.” And we do not deny, but that in

|| Lib. 5. c. 9.

* Epist. 63.

a large Sense, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be called a Sacrifice; as the Bread and Wine may be called the Body and Blood of Christ. But that this Sacrament is a true and proper Sacrifice, as those of the Church of *Rome* define the Mass to be, is altogether false and blasphemous, because it ascribes that to a Priest, which the Scriptures have ascribed to Christ alone; and dangerous, because it tends to make Men believe that Christ is often offered, and dies daily, and that he is offered by a Priest: Which Propositions are, as I have shewn, directly contrary to Scripture.

IN short, the Mass, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is nothing else but a perpetual, solemn, and sacred Memorial of Christ's dying for us; that as often as we come to the Lord's Table, and there join in the Celebration of this Holy Sacrament, we might be moved, by what is there done, at once both to call to our Remembrance all the Passages of his Passion (to consider him as there set forth crucified before our Eyes) and to meditate upon the Love of Christ thus dying for us, and upon the mighty Benefits and Advantages which have accrued to us thereby; and have our Hearts affected after a suitable manner towards him. *

* See Archbp. *Wake's* Exposition on the Church Catechism, §. 46. *Nowell's* Cat. p. 152, 153. *Mason de Min. Angl.* lib. 5. *Potter* of Church Government, c. 5. §. 4. *Jewel's* Reply, Art. XVII. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 6. q. 6. *Bilson* of Christian Subj. Part IV. p. 505. *Field* of the Church. Append. to the 3d Book, p. 203, 335. *Buckeridge* of Kneeling at the Communion, p. 47.

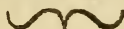


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 O N T H E
 T h i r t y - F i r s t A R T I C L E .



H E Sacrifice of the Mass is so material a Part of the *Romish* Religion, and carries with it a Notion, so pleasing to the corrupt Inclinations of Men, and is withal, a Means to procure an immense, and constantly increasing Treasure, for the Support and Maintenance of the Clergy of that Communion, that there is no Error whatsoever, that can reasonably be supposed to be retained with more Obstinacy, and given up with greater Unwillingness than this. And therefore it may not be improper to consider and answer, what our Adversaries bring from
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Scripture for the Sacrifice of the Mass, considered as a true and proper Sacrifice, as well as to offer those Places of Scripture that are directly contrary to it, and do, in our Judgment, perfectly overthrow it. First, then they go back as far as *Genesis* for it, and if they can find it there, they will prove it to be very primitive and ancient indeed; but where ever they meet with Bread and Wine, which are Things of very great Antiquity, they resolve to make a Sacrifice of them; especially, if there be but a Priest by, who hath the Power of Consecrating, for they suppose, he must presently fall to his Office, and put on his Habit, if Bread and Wine be before him; and that he cannot, like other Men, eat and drink them as his ordinary Food, or entertain his Friends and others with them; except, he not only religiously bless them by Prayer and Thanksgiving, which every good Man ought to do, and it was the Custom even of the Heathens to do this before Eating, but he must sacrifice and offer them up to God. This they will needs have *Melchisedeck* do in the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*, and the eighteenth Verse, *Melchisedeck, King of Salem, brought forth Bread and Wine, and he was a Priest of the most high God.* What is there here to shew, that *Melchisedeck* offered Bread and Wine, as a Sacrifice to God? The very Word in their own vulgar *Latin*, answering to the *Hebrew* is *Protulit*, he brought forth, not *Obtulit*, he offered; and if it were the latter, could not he offer Bread and Wine to *Abraham* and his Company upon a Table, but must it necessarily be to God upon an Altar? *Abraham* with his Three hundred and eighteen trained Servants, had been by Night pursuing those, who had taken away his Brother *Lot* Captive,

Captive, and when they were thus very weary and hungry, *Melchisedeck*, hospitably and kindly entertained them with Provision to refresh them, and brought forth Bread and Wine to them; thus it lies in the sacred History and Context, and thus *Josephus* * relates it, and there is not the least mention or Intimation of any Sacrifice, as *Cajetan* † owns upon the Place, and so do many of their own Authors, whom *Postevine* ‡ the Jesuit takes upon him to correct for it. *Bellarmino* indeed, as if he had been by at the Entertainment, and been one of *Abraham's* Soldiers; tells us, they had eaten and drank very well before, and therefore desires *Melchisedeck* to excuse them, for they had no need of his Bread and Wine at that Time §, and yet in the same Place owns, that these were given to *Abraham* and his Companions for Food †, but that they were just offered to God, and then given to them to partake of them as of a Sacrifice: But why were they given as Food, if they had no need of Food? Did *Melchisedeck* know they had eaten? Or does the Scripture say so? Or might not he treat them as a King, tho' they had Victuals of their own? How does *Bellarmino* know they were first sacrificed, when there is not the least Word of that? Why, it is said that he was a Priest of the most high God, therefore it is likely he sacrificed, why else should that be added? It was added because it was so, or because, as it immediately follows, *he blessed*

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* Ἐχρηγήσατο ὁ Μελχισέδης πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τρεῖς ἄρτους καὶ ξένια καὶ πρὸς πολλὴν ἀρδουρίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχε. L. I. c. II.

† Nihil hic scribitur de Sacrificio. Cajetan. in Gen. xiv.

‡ Biblioth. L. 4. c. 13.

§ Bellarm. de Miss. l. 1. c. 6. D.

† Ibidem.

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Abraham, and Abraham gave him Tythes of all his Spoils, ver. 19, 20. This is more likely than because he sacrificed, for there is no mention of that as of the other, and 'tis not said he brought forth Bread and Wine, because he was the Priest of the high God, 'tis only a conjunctive Particle, *and, he was,* and not a Causal for. It is said also in the same Place, *that he was King of Salem,* and why might not his Entertainment of *Abraham,* be as he was a King, because he is said there to be a King, as well as a Priest? and yet, I suppose, a Priest may be said to treat his Friends, as another Man without officiating then as a Priest, tho' he be called a Priest. Why *Bellarmino* should cite any Fathers for his Opinion, I cannot imagine, since the oldest of them are at so great a Distance from the Times of *Melchisedeck,* that they could no more know what *Melchisedeck* did at that Time, than we can now, and they are very improper Witnesses of a Matter of Fact that was so long ago, which nothing but the Scripture History can give us any Account of, to which it is not only precarious, but rash to add any of our own Guesses and Conjectures; however, tho' some of the Fathers do by Way of Figure and Allusion, make this Bread and Wine of *Melchisedeck,* to relate to the sacramental Bread and Wine, as they make *Manna,* and several other Things, which were not Sacrifices, yet none apply it to the Sacrifice of the Mass, nor could they well do it, since they believed no such Thing in the Sense which we are now opposing. But not to enter into so large a Field of Controversy as this is, in which, considering the Bulk which this Treatise is already swelled to, I may perhaps tire both the

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the Reader and my self before we can find our Way out of it ; let us suppose, that *Melchisedeck* did sacrifice Bread and Wine ; what Service will this do to the Sacrifice of the Mass ? The Priests do not there sacrifice Bread and Wine according to this mystical Type, nor did *Melchisedeck* sure offer up Christ's Body and Blood under the Species of his Bread and Wine ; if we allow all that can be begged and desired, that *Melchisedeck* did sacrifice, and that this his Sacrifice was a Type and Figure of another Sacrifice, why may not that be of the Sacrifice of the Cross, which is the true and only proper Christian Sacrifice, when Christ the Bread of Life was offered up unto God for us ? So that there is no Necessity to bring in the Sacrifice of the Mass, to compleat and answer this Figure, were there any Thing in it besides Guess and Fancy, which I see no Manner of Reason to believe there is, since there is nothing to countenance it in the New Testament ; and 'tis very presumptuous and ungrounded to make any thing a true Type, or to have a typical Meaning farther than God's Spirit, which alone could know this, hath given us Warrant to do it by Revelation. Yet without any such Ground doth *Bellarmino* *, and the Council of *Trent* †, make this to be the Notion of Christ's being a Priest, after the Order of *Melchisedeck*, that he was to offer up a visible and unbloody Sacrifice of Bread and Wine, and to appoint others to do this for ever ; whereas the Scripture makes Christ to be a Priest after the Order of *Melchisedeck*, not

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* De Missa L. 1. c. 6.

† Sess. 6. c. 1.


upon any such Account: For the Author to the *Hebrews*, makes not the least mention of this in his large Discourse of this Matter*, but in his having no Predecessor, nor no Successor in his Priesthood, as *Melchisedeck* is represented in Scripture, without any Account of his Family or Genealogy, without Father, without Mother, without Descent, *Heb. vii. 3.* And in the Excellency of that in general, above the imperfect *Aaronical Priesthood*, and in the Eternity and Immutability of it, because he continueth for ever, and hath an unchangeable Priesthood, *ver. 24.* How little the *Melchisedekian* Priesthood of Christ, upon which they lay so much Strefs, will serve the Purpose of the Mass-Sacrifice, nay, how contrary 'tis to it, I shall endeavour to manifest in a few Particulars.

FIRST then, Christ, it is plain, did offer up to God not an unbloody, but a bloody Sacrifice upon the Cross; I ask whether he did this according to his *Melchisedekian* Priesthood? If he did, then *Melchisedeck* probably a Priest of the High God, might offer the bloody Sacrifices of living Creatures; and if he were *Shem*, the eldest Son of *Noah*, as is fairly conjectured by learned Men, he might learn this of his Father, who after the Flood, *built an Altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, and offered burnt Offerings on the Altar, Gen. viii. 20.* But then, how will this be reconciled with what our Adversaries pretend, that it was the Power and peculiar Office of *Melchisedeck*, to offer the pure and

‡ *Heb. v. 7.*

unbloody Sacrifice of Bread and Wine? And that according to that, the *Roman* Priests are to do that, and that Christ did that at his last Supper. Christ's Priesthood was the same at his Supper and upon the Cross; if he acted therefore as a Priest of *Melchisedeck* in one, he did so in both. Secondly, The Scripture mentions no Act or Office of *Melchisedeck's* Priesthood but in blessing *Abraham*, Gen. xiv. 18, 19. *Melchisedeck, King of Salem, brought forth Bread and Wine, and he was the Priest of the most high God, and he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abraham of the most high God, which hath delivered thine Enemies into thine Hand.* And this the Author to the *Hebrews* takes particular Notice of, chap. vii. ver. 1. and this answers to what St. *Peter* says of Christ after his Resurrection, God having raised up his Son *Jesus*, sent him to bless you, *Acts* iii. 26. Which general Word of Blessing may include in it whatever is done for us by Christ's Priesthood after his Resurrection, particularly his praying and interceding to God for us. Had it been any Part of Christ's *Melchisedekian* Priesthood to offer up Bread and Wine, much more had it wholly consisted in this; 'tis strange the Apostle, in a set and large Discourse of this, should not speak one Word, nor take the least Notice of it. Thirdly, Christ is to have none to succeed him in his *Melchisedekian* Priesthood, but he was himself to remain a Priest for ever; the Author to the *Hebrews* makes this Difference between the *Aaronical* Priests and Christ, that they were to succeed one another, and they truly were many *Priests*, because they were not suffered to continue by Reason of Death. *Heb.* vii. 23. but Christ was an immortal, and so a perpetual Priest; but this Man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable

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Priesthood, *ver. 24. ἀπαρβατόν ἑξαπόνην*, a Priesthood that passeth not to others, but is ever fix'd and appropriate to his own Person, and he is made a Priest after the Power of an endless Life, *ver. 16.* That which belongs then to Christ, as he is an immortal Priest, and continueth ever, and hath none to succeed him, that it is which constitutes his *Melchisedekian* Priesthood; and what that is the Apostle plainly informs us in the very next Verse to those I have quoted, *seeing he ever liveth to make Intercession for us, ver. 24.* Christ's interceding with God by Vertue of his Sacrifice upon the Cross, and appearing in Heaven in the Presence of God for us, and there presenting his Sacrifice to his Father, and powerfully mediating on our Behalf; this is the proper unchangeable, eternal, intransitive *Melchisedekian* Priesthood, and 'tis great Arrogance for any to pretend to share with him, or to succeed him, therefore, in his proper Priesthood, and to call themselves, as the *Romanists* do, Priests after the Order of *Melchisedek*, when none but Christ is so. This his Priesthood is not committed to any upon Earth, but is to be for ever executed in Heaven by himself, and he hath left none to be proper Priests in this Sense, but only to be Ministers of this great High Priest, in performing some lesser, tho' peculiar Offices proper to them, as the *Levites* under the Jewish Dispensation had their proper Work, tho' they were not proper Priests.

THE next Thing they produce out of Scripture for the Sacrifice of the Mass, is, the Paschal Lamb, which they will needs have to be a Figure of the Eucharist, and since that was a Sacrifice, therefore the Eucharist, which was figured by it, ought to be so too: Now these figurative

rative Arguments, tho' they help to make some Show, as they are dressed out by Fancy, yet they have generally this Fault, that they prove either too much or too little, and so either shoot over the Mark, or fall a great deal short of it, but seldom hit it. The Paschal Lamb, and the Eucharist, the Christian Paschover, do agree in this, that they are both solemn and religious Rites, commemorative of a great Deliverance, and that they are both sacred and mystical Feasts, wherein something is to be eaten with Joy and Thankfulness, and our Saviour instituted one to succeed and take Place of the other; in these Particulars they suit, and have an agreeable Analogy with one another; but Figures are like Circles, which may touch one another in some Points, but not in all, for if we go any farther, they will necessarily divide and differ. The Paschal Lamb was to be eaten but once a Year, the Eucharist much oftener; *that* was a Feast of visible and solid Flesh, the Eucharist only of Bread and Wine; or if there be any Flesh, 'tis invisible, and as like Bread and Wine as can be; however, *this* is the Flesh, according to our Adversaries of a living Man, *that* of a dead and roasted Lamb, *this* is not to be slain, but eaten whole and alive, the other was; and therefore why may we not add, to go no further, *this* is no proper Sacrifice, *that* probably was, for it is not past Question, whether it was or no; but yet such a Sacrifice as was offered without a Priest by every Master of a Family? And if the Eucharist were to agree with it in this, the Priests would lose a great deal of their Design in making it a Sacrifice, for then, without their Assistance, every House-keeper would offer it himself;

besides, the Paschal Lamb was not a propitiatory Sacrifice, I presume for the Quick and Dead, so then, in Correspondence to that, neither is the Sacrifice of the Mass, but only an Eucharistick one; but after all, the Paschal Lamb was not truly a Type and Figure of the Eucharist, but of Christ crucified, so saith St. Paul expressly, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us*, 1 Cor. v. 7, and that not, I suppose, in the Sacrament, but upon the Cross, *the Paschal Figure was fulfilled*, says their own *Jansenius*, when our true Passover Christ was immolated*. And to shew how exact a Figure he then bare of the Paschal Lamb, *a Bone of him was not to be broken* †, as it was not likewise of that *Exod. xii. 46.* and this expressly remark'd, that the Scripture might be fulfilled ‡. The Sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, and the other Jewish Sacrifices, wherein Atonement was made for Sin by shedding of Blood, without which, under the Law, there was to be no Remission, were all, as the Apostle says, *Shadows of good Things to come* §, and Types of the more perfect Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, who was *the Lamb slain in Types and Figures*, as well as in *Design and Intention, from the Beginning of the World.* And I cannot but think, that from hence arose the universal Custom of sacrificing in all Religions over all the World, from an original Tradition of the Sacrifice of Christ, and out of a primary Regard and Respect to that; for I cannot imagine what else should

* Impleta erat figura Paschatis quando verum nostrum Pascha immolatus est. Jansen. Harmon. c. 131. fol. 895.

† John xix. 33.

‡ ver. 36.

§ Heb. xx. 1.

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be the Reason, or give Rise to expiatory Sacrifices, and be the true Cause of so general a Practice. But that any of these Sacrifices had Relation to the Eucharist, or were intended as Figures of that, is very precarious and ungrounded: Those Eucharistical Sacrifices indeed, in which, Part of what was offered, was eaten by the Offerers, or in Holocausts, when the whole was consumed, where a Peace-Offering was joined with them, which the Sacrificers used to feast and partake of, as a Token of their Peace and Reconciliation with God; these may fairly relate and have some Respect to, or at least Resemblance with the Eucharist, which is a Kind of sacrificial Feast, or sacramental Feeding upon an *Oblatum*, Christ's Body and Blood offered for us upon the Cross; but that they were Types of this, is more than we can be assured of; for a Type is a Sign or Figure appointed and designed by God, to signify and mark out such a Thing, and we cannot know that God appoints or designs any such Thing, further than we have some Ground from Scripture and Revelation, and therefore we must restrain typical Matters within those Bounds, and must not let Fancy loose, to make what Types it pleases. There may be some Similitude and Likeness, by which one Thing may be compared with another, without its being a Type or a Figure of it, as *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, calls "the Meat-Offering of fine Flower, which
" the Leper was to bring for his cleansing,
" *Lev. iv. 10.* an Image or Likeness of the
" Eucharistical Bread, which Christ our Lord
" appointed to be brought in Remembrance
" of his Passion, whereby our Souls are clean-
" sed from Sin and Wickedness, and that we
" may

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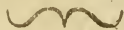
“ may hereby give Thanks to God the Creator ” *. So that he makes the Eucharist to answer the Analogy of that Meat-Offering in three Things, in the Oblation of Bread, and this in Commemoration of Christ’s Passion, whereby we are delivered from Sin, and as a Thanksgiving to God ; and in all these it doth very well correspond with it, tho’ that it was strictly a Type of this, and so intended by God, is still to be questioned ; and he that is acquainted with the Fathers, and their allegorical Way of explaining Scripture, and applying all Things in the Old Testament to Matters in the New, will have great Reason to doubt, whether they did not give too much Scope to their Fancy in many Things, and whether solid Arguments may be drawn from all their allegorical Discourses and Applications ; but yet none of them, that I know of, do make any of the antient propitiatory Sacrifices, to be Types and Figures of the Eucharist, but of the Sacrifice of the Cross ; however, if they should do this by some remote Allusion, and partial Resemblance, yet not as it is a proper Sacrifice or truly propitiatory, therefore not at all to the Purpose of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

THE Prophecy of *Malachi* is one of the great Scripture-Proofs for this Sacrifice, but it can be at most but a collateral Evidence ; for if Christ did not, in Fact, institute any such Sacrifice, as I have proved he did not, this is a much better Argument to shew there was none such foretold, than it can be to prove he did institute

* Justin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 260. Par.

it because it was foretold : Predictions are best understood by the Completion of them, and if no such thing was done as is pretended from this Prediction, this demonstrates that no such thing was intended or meant by it, so that by taking away that first Ground of the Mass-Sacrifice, I have taken away all these little Under-props and Supporters of it. But let us see what seeming Assistance this Place of *Malachi* will afford them : God having reprov'd the *Jews* for their undue and unfit Offerings, tells them, that better and purer Offerings shall be made him every where by the *Gentiles* ; *For from the Rising of the Sun, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every Place Incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering, for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts, Mal. i. 11.* Thus it is both in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Copies, as *Bellarmino* owns, but it is something different from both those in the vulgar *Latin*, where it is, *In every Place is sacrificed, and is offered to my Name a pure Oblation.* They are so in love with the Word Sacrifice, that they choose to use that above any other, as if where-ever they meet with that in Scripture, it must be meant properly, and of an external Sacrifice, and of no other but the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass. Though the Word *Mincha*, which is here made use of, from which some of our Adversaries are so foolish as to derive the *Latin* Word *Missa*, that signifies only a Dismission of the *Catechumens* and *Penitents* before the Office of the Eucharist, does not signify a propitiatory Sacrifice, but only a Meat-Offering, which was merely Eucharistical ; and whereas nothing is more commonly meant by Sacrifice in Scripture, than the

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the Spiritual Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, and Prayer, and the like, when a pious and devout Soul offers unto God *Thanksgiving, and pays its Vows unto the most High*, Psal. l. 14; when the Prayer of the Righteous is set forth as *Incense, and the lifting up of his Hands, as an Evening Sacrifice*, Psal. cxli. 2. And this is the Incense and pure Oblation which the Fathers generally understand to be meant in that Place, to wit, *Glorifying and blessing God, and Praise and Hymns**, as *Tertullian* in so many Words explains this Place; and again, *A pure Offering*, as *Malachi* speaks, *is an honest Prayer from a pure Conscience* †; and so in other Places ‡ he explains it altogether of *Spiritual Sacrifices*. *Eusebius* calls this *pure Offering* of *Malachi*, *the Incense of Prayers* ||. *St. Jerom* upon the Place says, *The Prophet teaches, that the Prayers of Holy Men should be offered to the Lord, not only in the single Province of Judea, to which the Jewish Sacrifices were confined, but in every Place* §. There can be no Sacrifice more acceptable to God, no Offering with which he is so well pleased, no Incense that is of so sweet a Savour, as the Prayers and Praises of a devout Mind, and a pure unblemish'd Conscience, and especially when these are kindled and inflamed to the highest Degrees and Ardors at the Blessed Sacrament, when the Soul is truly sensible of the Love of God, and the infinite Kindness of its dying Saviour; when it hath the Symbol and Representation of his Death before it, and shall pour out its

* Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 3.

† Ibid. lib. 4.

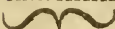
‡ Advers. Judæos, Ibid.

|| Euseb. Demonstrat. lib. 1. cap. 6.

§ Hieron. in Malach. i.

grateful and hearty Resentments, and thereby offer up a more pure and precious Sacrifice, than *Thousands of Rams, or Ten thousand Rivers of Oyl*. This is that Incense, and that pure Offering of Christians, which is foretold by the Prophet, and this especially offered in the most sacred Office of our Religion, the blessed Eucharist; and therefore some of the Fathers, *Justin Martyr, Ireneus, and St. Austin* apply this Place to the blessed Sacrament, not as any proper Sacrifice is there offered, but only such divine and spiritual ones as these. Why should our Adversaries then charge us with having no Sacrifice, and therefore, as they charitably tell us, no Religion, when we have the best and the noblest Sacrifice that can be, that *which will please the Lord much better than an Ox or a Bullock that hath Horns and Hoofs, Psal. lxi. 31. and xl. 6. Isai. i. 11.* God was never pleased with those external Sacrifices for themselves, but he often refuses and disregards them, even under the Jewish Dispensation, and they were all to cease with that, and instead of such mean Sacrifices and external Oblations, which were to be offered then but in one Place, there should in every Place, under Christianity, be offered the more pure and spiritual Sacrifices, the Incense of Prayer, and the pure Oblation of Praise and Thanksgiving, and such like Christian Sacrifices as are often mentioned in Scripture, and which are meant in this Prophecy of *Malachi*. 'Tis a sort of Judaism then, and a returning back to that less perfect and less spiritual State, to make the Religion of the Gospel consist in any visible and external Sacrifice, which our Adversaries so earnestly contend for, rather than in those Sacrifices which are more spiritual, and therefore more truly

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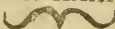


truly christian, and more agreeable to the spiritual Worship, and the spiritual OEconomy of the Gospel.

THERE are some other Places which *Bellarmino* and other Defenders of the Sacrifice of the Mass produce out of the Old Testament, which are so weakly and impertinently alledged, that they only serve to expose it, and therefore they are not at all mentioned in the Council of *Trent* or in the *Roman* Catechism, such is that Saying of the Prophet to *Eli*, 2 *Sam.* ii. 35. That God would raise up a faithful Priest that should do according to that which was in his Heart, and in his Mind, and that he would build him a sure House, and he should walk before his Anointed for ever. This new Priest that was to succeed *Eli*, was, very probably, to be a sacrificing Priest; but that he was to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass, I leave those who bring this Place for it to prove; for without doubt this was fulfilled long before Christ, in *Samuel*, who succeeded *Eli*, and in *Zadock*, who came in the room of *Abiathar*, who was of the Family of *Eli*, and who was thrust out by *Solomon* from being Priest unto the Lord, that he might fulfil the Word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the House of *Eli* in *Shilo*, 1 *Kings* ii. 27. as the Scripture observes; and to make this figurative or prophetic of the Christian Priesthood's succeeding the *Aaronical*, is great Strength of Fancy, but a very weak Argument, however, for the Sacrifice of the Mass, unless that were the Work of the Christian Priesthood, which is hard to be made out. The second is that out of *Psalms* lxxii. ver. 16. There shall be an Handful of Corn in the Earth upon the Top of the Mountains. This Handful of Corn is by *Galatinus* and others of the same *Rabbinical* Stamp,

Stamp, made into a Cake or *Placenta*, and that must needs be the Wafer Cake, which being upon the Top of the Mountains, must be heaved and elevated over the Head of the Priests. Whatever Feasts or Dainties the *Jews* might expect, as foretold by this *Psalms*, to be received in the Days of the *Messiah*, and whatever they were willing to mean by this Handful of Corn on the Top of the Mountains, that they never dreamt of the Sacrifice of the Mass, is what I shall not be so vainly prodigal of my Time, as to endeavour to disprove.

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THE next is that of *Proverbs*, chap. ix. ver. 2. *Wisdom hath killed her Beasts, she hath mingled her Wine, she hath also furnished her Table*; but I am sure she never made this Argument for the Sacrament of the Mass: I will improve this Argument, if they please, for the Proof of other Things, as of Priests Celibacy, because in the next Words 'tis said, *Wisdom hath sent out her Maidens*, ver. 4. Of the Church of Rome's being the House that was built by Wisdom, because 'tis said in the first Verse, *she hath hewn out her seven Pillars*, which are as undoubtedly the seven Hills of Rome, as this allegorical Banquet is the Sacrifice of the Mass. Our Adversaries, sure, could not be very serious and in good earnest, when they produced such Places as these, and therefore they must excuse us for not being so in answering them. I shall mention but one more, which if it be not as ridiculous, yet it is as impertinent as the other, and that is out of *Daniel*, chap. viii. ver. 11. where it is said, *the daily Sacrifice was taken away*, by a great Prince that is there prophetically described. It is plain, that by the daily Sacrifice there is meant that of the *Jews*, and by
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the Prince that should take it away, *Antiochus*, who did literally perform this by destroying the *Jewish* Worship, and horribly profaning the Temple ; if by him was allegorically and prophetically meant the Christian Antichrist, if I may so speak, spoken of by *St. Paul*, 2 *Thess.* ii. and by *St. John*, *Rev.* xiii. described as a Beast, having seven Heads and ten Horns, as *Bellarmino* will have it*, then whether this Mark belongs not to him that sets up the Sacrifice of the Mass, and destroys, as far as he hath Power, and takes away all the purer Worship of Christ, and hath a great many other Characters upon him that look very suspicious, will be a great Question, for which, I dare say, there are a great many more Probabilities, than that by the daily Sacrifice here is meant the Sacrifice of the Mass.

I COME now to the New Testament, where, if there be any Proofs for the Sacrifice of the Mass, it is more likely to find them, than in the Old, yet they produce twice as many, such as they are, out of that than this, and, like some other People, are more beholden to dark Types and obscure Prophecies of the Old Testament to make out their Principles, than to the clear Light of the Gospel, and to any plain Places in the New ; and yet if any such Doctrine as this were to be received by Christians, and if any such wonderful and essential Part of Worship were appointed by Christ, or taught and practised by the Apostles, we should surely have it more plainly set down in the New Testament than they are able to shew it. The first Place they urge from thence belongs no more to the Sacrifice of the

* Chap. 9. de Miss. lib. 1.

Mass, than the First Commandment does in the Decalogue, and they had as good have quoted our Saviour's Words to the Devil, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God*, and so have proved from thence, that God ought to be worshipped by the Sacrifice of the Mass, as those to the Woman of *Samaria*, which *Bellarmino* brings to this Purpose out of *John* iv. 21, 23.* *The Hour cometh when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father, for the Hour cometh and now is, when the true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth.* From whence he infers, that they must worship him by Sacrifice, and that this must be the Sacrifice of the Mass, and that this is to worship him in Spirit and in Truth. If this be not all Evidence and Demonstration, there is none in *Euclid*; and if we may not here cry out, *εὐρηκα*, the Mass is found, we are blind and obstinate. But I see very little more for it here than from the other Places which I named before, but rather something against it, for to worship God in Spirit and Truth, and that because he is a Spirit, as our Saviour there adds, *ver. 24.* is not to worship him by an External, Visible, Typical Sacrifice as the Mass is, and as those of the *Jews* were, but by a more pure and spiritual Worship of Praise and Thanksgiving, and Prayer, such as that of Christians is to be, as more suitable to the spiritual Nature of God; and these spiritual Sacrifices of Christians are not to be ty'd to one Place, as those more gross and carnal ones of the *Jews* were, which was the thing our Saviour here designed. The greatest Part of the publick *Jewish* Worship was fix'd to the Temple and to *Jerusalem*; their Tythes, and First-fruits, and Firstlings, and Festivals, as well as their Sacrifices, and there may be Di-

* De Miss. lib. 1. cap. 11.

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vine Worship without Sacrifice as well as with it, and whatever the Worship be, which our Saviour here says was to be spiritual, it was not like the *Jewish*, to be fix'd to one Place, which is the true Scope of those Words to the *Samaritan* Woman, in answer to her Question, *ver. 20.* Whether Mount *Gerizim* or *Jerusalem* was the true Place of Worship, which was the great Dispute between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*; our Saviour determines for neither, but puts an End to the Question, and says, *That now under the Gospel, the Worship of God was not local, and as to the manner of it, that it was spiritual.* The second and principal Argument for the Sacrifice of the Mass, is from Christ's Institution and first Celebration of the Eucharist with his Disciples, and here, indeed, is the true Place to find it, if there be any such thing, but I hope to shew that Christ did neither then sacrifice himself, nor command his Disciples to do so, and thereby to take away that which is the very Foundation of the Mass-sacrifice, and without which every thing else that can be said for it, falls to the Ground.

LET us therefore enquire into the Truth of this Doctrine, That our Blessed Saviour did, at his last Supper, when he celebrated the Communion with his Disciples, offer up his Body and Blood to his Father, as a true propitiatory Sacrifice, before he offer'd it as such upon the Cross. Is there any the least Colour or Shadow of any such thing in any of the Accounts that is given of this in the three Evangelists, or in *St. Paul*? *The Lord Jesus the same Night in which he was betrayed took Bread and gave Thanks, or blessed it and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in Remembrance of me;*


me; after the same manner also he took the Cup and gave Thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for you and for many, for the Remission of Sins. Is here any Mention or any Intimation of offering up any thing to God? Was not the Bread and the Cup, and what he called his Body and his Blood, given to his Disciples to be eaten and drank by them? And was any thing else done with them? Is there any thing like an Offering or a Sacrificing of them? Yes, say they, Christ there calls it his *Body which is broken, and his Blood which is shed*, in the Present Tense; therefore the one must be then broken and the other shed. So indeed it is in the Original *Greek*, though in the vulgar *Latin* it is in the Future Tense, and so it is also put in their *Missal*, *Sanguis qui effundetur, This is my Blood which shall be shed*; and is it not usual to put the Present Tense instead of the Future, when that is so near and certain? Does not our Saviour do it more than once at other Times? *The Son of Man is betrayed into the Hands of Sinners*, Παροδιδῶ. *Mat.* xxvi. 45. before he was so, though Judas was then nigh and coming about it. So *John* x. 17. *I lay down my Life*, Τίθημι ἃ ἑαυτῷ, when he was ready to do so; as he was to have his Body broken and his Blood shed, when he was prepared as a Victim, to be offered the next Day, so *St. Paul* says, Ἐγὼ ἑαυτὸν σπένδωμαι, *I now offer up myself*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 6. when, as we translate it, *he was ready to be offered*. That Christ here used the Present Tense for the Future is owned by *Cardinal Cajetan*, on *Luke* xxii. and other learned Men of the *Church of Rome*, and *Jansenius* says, The pouring out of the Blood is rightly understood of the pouring it out upon the Cross, *Concord.* 131. Christ's Body was not broke, nor his Blood poured out 'till the next Day, nor did he offer up himself as

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a Sacrifice to his Father 'till then, Christ did not then command his Apostles to offer him up in the Eucharist, when he had them *do this*; *hoc facite* does not signify to sacrifice, nor will it be supposed, I hope, that our Saviour did then use the vulgar *Latin*. The Phrase in *Virgil*, *Cum faciam vitula*, which is always quoted to this Purpose, shews it only to be so meant when the Occasion or Subject Matter does require it; but in our Saviour's Words it plainly refers to those Acts of taking Bread and breaking it, and taking Wine and blessing it, and then giving or distributing of them, as he had done just before, and as he commanded them to *do in Remembrance of him*; and that it does not relate to Sacrificing is plain, from *St. Paul*, who applies it particularly to drinking the Cup, *Do this as oft as ye drink it in Remembrance of me*, 1 *Cor.* xi. 25. That the Apostles were made Priests by Christ at his last Supper, by those Words, *hoc facite, do this*, is so precarious and senseless an Opinion, that it only shews what wonderful Streights and Extremities our Adversaries are driven to, who are forced to espouse this to support their ill-framed Hypothesis about the holy Eucharist, in those two Doctrines, of the *Communion in one kind*, and the *Sacrifice of the Mass*. There is not one Father or ancient Interpreter, that gives any the least Countenance to it, and many of their own Authors are ashamed of it, so that I shall say no more of it; but that if those Words make the Apostles Priests, it makes them so twice, for they are twice repeated by our Saviour after giving the Cup, as well as after giving the Bread, as *St. Paul* witnesses, 1 *Cor.* xi. 25. and so the Character of Priesthood must be double, and they must be twice ordained at the same Time, when there is nothing appears like an Ordination

tion at all ; but if they were then made Priests, they were not made so 'to sacrifice Christ's Body and Blood, or to do more than he did at that Time ; and so this is nothing to the Purpose, if he himself did not then truly offer and sacrifice himself, which is the plainest Thing in the World he did not. And what should make any Man imagine that Christ's Body was broke, and his Blood shed at his last Supper, or that he then sacrificed and offered up himself, I cannot conceive : Had he been no otherwise sacrificed, nor his Body any otherwise broken, nor his Blood in any other Way shed, besides this, the *Jews* had been liable to much less Guilt, but Mankind had been in a more wretched Condition ; Christ had not redeemed them, had he not died for them upon the Cross. If the Sacrifice of Christ at his last Supper, the Night before his Crucifixion, was a true and proper propitiatory Sacrifice, what needed he to have suffered the next Day ? If that was of the same Nature and Value with the other, as they say, and did truly propitiate God, and procure Pardon and Remission of Sins for Mankind, what need was there of the Cross of Christ ? It was hereby made void and of no Effect, or at least of no Necessity. If Christ had done the Work without it, his Sacrifice upon the Altar or the Table, might have excused his Sacrifice upon the Cross ; and thus the bitter Cup might have passed from him, and he might have been crucified only in Effigie, and slain mystically and sacramentally, and his Body might have been thus broken, and his Blood shed, and yet the one have been still whole, and the other in his Veins. For these Reasons one of their own Bishops at the Council of *Trent*, denied openly, That Christ offered up any proper Sacrifice

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Sacrifice at his last Supper*. But if he did not, then there was no Ground for them ever to offer any in the Eucharist, and therefore the Council was forced to declare he did, tho' no such Thing appears in the Evangelical History, nor could any collect it from thence; but it was a necessary After-thought, and a groundless Supposal, to help out and establish the Sacrifice of the Mass. There are but two other Proofs, and those very weak ones behind, the one out of the 13th of the *Acts*, where it is said of *Saul and Barnabas*, and the Prophets and Teachers of the Church at *Antioch*, that they ministered unto the Lord; but could they not minister, and perform the Divine Office and Service without sacrificing? It must be proved, that that was Part of the religious Office, before it can appear that it was meant here; it is said they fasted and prayed, and in that probably their λειτουργία or Ministry consisted, or as *St. Chrysostom* in his 37th Homily upon the *Acts*, and after him *Occumenicus* explain it in Preaching; but that they sacrificed, there is not the least Evidence. The Word λειτουργεῖν, doth not signify to sacrifice, but to perform any proper Function, and therefore it is attributed in the Scripture, both to the Angels who are called λειτουργικά πνεύματα, *Ministring Spirits*, *Heb. i. 14.* and to the Magistrates, who are called the *Ministers of God*, λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ, *Rom. xiii. 6.* and yet sacrificing I suppose, belongs to neither of them, nor does their own vulgar *Latin* so translate it here. The last is out of *1 Cor. 10.* for *Bel-larmine* gives up that out of *Heb. xiii. We have an Altar of which they have no Right to eat, who serve the Tabernacle*, tho' 'tis as much to his

* *Cornelius Episcopus Bitontinus in Concilio apud Tridentum, — qui dixerit Christum in cenâ non suum Corpus & Sanguinem obtulisse. Cæsus in Loc. Theol. Lib. 12.*


Purpose, in my Mind, as any of the rest ; but some Catholick Writers, he says, do by *Altar* mean there, either the *Cross* or *Christ himself**; but if it were meant of the Eucharist, that is but an Altar in an improper Sense, as the Sacrifice offered on it, is but improper and metaphorical, as we shall prove ; but in the Place to the *Corinthians*, the Apostle commands them not to eat of *Things offered to Idols*, for to eat of them, was to partake of Things sacrificed to Devils, and so to have Communion with Devils, which was very unfit for those who were Partakers of the Lord's Table, and therein, truly communicated of the Body and Blood of Christ, as those who are of the Jewish Sacrifices, were Partakers of the Jewish Altar. Now what is there here of the Sacrifice of the Mass, or any Way serviceable to it? Why, yes, the Apostle compares the Table of the Lord, with the Table of Devils, and eating of the Lord's Supper, with eating the *Jewish* and the heathen Sacrifices ; therefore the Christians ought to have an Altar as well as the *Jews*, and what they fed on ought to be sacrificed as well as the Heathen *ἑιδωλόθυτα*, but the Apostle says nothing of this, nor makes any such Comparison between them, but only shews the Unfitness of Christians eating of the heathen Sacrifices, who partook of the Lord's Table ; he does not call the Lord's Table an Altar, nor the Eucharist a Sacrifice, nor was there any Danger that the Christians should go to eat in the Idol Temples ; but he would not have them eat of their Sacrifices brought Home, and the whole Comparison lies here, the eating of the Lord's Supper, did make them true Partakers of the Lord's Body and Blood sacrificed upon the Cross, as eating of the Jewish Sacrifices did make the *Jews*

Appendix
to
Art. XXXI.



* Bellarm. de Miss. c. 14.

Appendix
to
ART. XXXI.



Partakers of the Jewish Altars, and as eating of Things offered to Idols, was to have Fellowship with Devils, so that they who partook of such holy Food as Christians did, should not communicate of such execrable and diabolical Food, as the Heathen *ἑιδωλόθυτα*. If indeed Christians could not partake of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, unless they first made a proper Sacrifice and Oblation of them, then the Apostle's Discourse would necessarily suppose and imply them to be thus offered, as the Jewish and Heathen Sacrifices were before they were eaten, but since Christ's Body and Blood being once offered upon the Cross, is a sufficient Sacrifice and Oblation of them, and the Eucharist is a religious and sacramental Feast upon the Sacrifice of Christ once offered; this is sufficient for the Apostle's Scope and Design in that Place, where there is no other Comparison made between the Table of the Lord, and the Table of the Devils, but that one makes us to be Partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the other to have Fellowship with Devils; and as to the Jewish Altar, the *Antithesis* does not lie here, as *Bellarmino* would have it, between that and the Table of the Lord, that both have proper Sacrifices offered upon them, which are eaten after they are sacrificed; but the Cross of Christ rather is the *Antithesis* to the Jewish Altar, on which Sacrifices were really and properly slain, which are not on the Christian Altar, and the feeding and partaking of those Sacrifices so offered, whereby they were made Partakers of the Altar; this answers to the sacramental feeding upon Christ's Body and Blood in the Christian Altar, whereby we are made Partakers of the Cross of Christ, and have the Vertue and Merit of his Sacrifice communicated to us.



ARTICLE XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests and Deacons, are not ART. XXXII. commanded by God's Law, either to vow the Estate of single Life, or to abstain from Marriage: Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian Men, to marry at their own Discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness.

The EXPOSITION.

SINCE it appears from 1 Cor. ix. 5. that the Apostles had, and led about their Wives; for there St. Paul saith, *Have we not a Power to lead about a Sister, a Wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the Brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?* And since St. Paul tells us, 1 Tim. iii. 11. what Qualifications the Wives of Presbyters and Deacons ought to have, that *they must be grave, not Slanderers, sober, faithful in all Things;* and finally, since we are told, Heb. xiii. 4. that *Marriage is honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled;* it follows, that 'tis lawful for the Clergy to marry as well as for other Christians, as the Article directs.

ART. XXXII. *TERTULLIAN*, a married Presbyter, wrote two Books to a Wife; in the seventh Chapter of which he intimates that he had made use of the Privileges of Matrimony, and saith, Why don't we endeavour as much as we can after the Gift of Continece? Let us take all Opportunities to obtain it, that we may in the Time of Widowhood dedicate ourselves to that which in a married State is impracticable. And *S. Cyprian* does not object against *Novatus*, a Presbyter, on the Account of his being married, but on the Account of his having used his Wife with such inhuman and unnatural Violence, as caused her instantly to fall into Labour, and bring forth a dead Child †.

NOTHING is here intended in Prejudice of such Laws as relate to Degrees of Kindred, and Consent of Parents and Governours allowed of in this Kingdom. *

† Epist. 52.

* See *Jewel's* Def. Apol. Part II. c. 8. div. 1. *Hall's* Letter to *Whiting*, Dec. 2. Epist. 3. and Honour of the married Clergy. *Patrick's* Answer to the Touchstone, §. 4. Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy. *Field of the Church*. Book V. c. 57, 58.





ARTICLE XXXIII.

*Of Excommunicate Persons how they
are to be avoided.*

That Person which by open Denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath Authority thereunto. ART. XXXIII.

The EXPOSITION.



SINCE the Church is a Society of Holy Persons in Subjection to Christ, what can be more equitable than that such an one as hath rebelled against Christ, and by reason of his notorious Crimes is become a Scandal to the Christian Name, should be driven out from the Communion of the Church, and that he should be looked upon as a Heathen who lives a heathenish Life? 'Tis the Business of all good Christians to *note that Man, and have no Society with him, that he may be ashamed,* 2 *Theff.* iii. 14. Thus our Blessed

ART. XXXIII. Saviour tells us, *Mat. xviii. 17.* That such as neglect to bear the Church, should be unto us as Heathen Men and Publicans. And *1 Cor. v.* we have a large Account of *St. Paul's* Excommunicating the incestuous *Corinthian*, at the End of which Chapter the Apostle saith, *Wherefore put away from yourselves that wicked Person.* I caution you, saith *S. Ignatius*, against Beasts in the Shape of Men, which you are not only not to receive, but also not to meet. †

WHOSOEVER holds not the Unity of the Church, saith *S. Cyprian*, how much soever he may boast of himself, and notwithstanding his very great Claims, is a profane Person, an Alien, and without the Pale of the Church ‡. And * I beseech you depart from such Persons, and acquiesce in such Advice as ye have had from us.

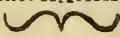
IF an excommunicated Person repents, he is to be restored to Communion with the Church again, but regularly, and by a Judge that hath Authority thereunto. For though the Power of Excommunication hath been by some explained away into a Right which all Christians have to avoid open and scandalous Sinners; yet it must be remembered, that there is such a Place of Scripture as *1 Cor. v. 12, 13.* *For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without, God judgeth.* And then immediately follow the Words before-mentioned,

† Epist. ad Smyr.

‡ Epist. 55.

* Ibid. 43.

Therefore put away from yourselves that wicked Person. From hence it follows, that there is a Power vested in the Governors of the Church over its Members, which extends not to such as are not Members; whereas, if Excommunication were only a Right to avoid scandalous Sinners, Heathens as well as Christians would be within the Reach of it.

ART. XXXIII.


'T IS necessary to observe, that no Excommunication dissolves the Ties of Nature; so that notwithstanding any Sentence of Excommunication, Subjects are to perform their Duties to their Princes, Wives to their Husbands, Children to their Parents; and so are Princes to their Subjects, Husbands to their Wives, and Parents to their Children. For these are Duties which have no Dependence on the Religion of the Persons they are to be performed to. †

† See *Potter of Church Government*, c. 5. §. 8. *Whitgift's Defence*, Tract. 18. *Field of the Church*, Book I. c. 15.





ARTICLE XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

ART. XXXIV. It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all Places one, or utterly like; for at all Times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the Diversity of Countries, Times, and Mens Manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private Judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that other may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Conscience of the weak Brethren.

Every Particular or National Church hath Authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church,

Church, ordained only by Man's Authority, so that all Things be done to Edifying. ART. XXXIV.

The EXPOSITION.



RITES and Ceremonies are in themselves indifferent, as is agreed on all Hands; and therefore there is no Necessity for their being the same in all Countries, and all Times. For as the Apostle argues, *Rom. xiv. 17.* the essential Parts of Religion are of another Nature, *viz. Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost.*

NEVERTHELESS, when those indifferent Things are established by the Authority of the Church, they ought to be observed by all, out of Reverence to that Authority, because it is from God, who hath commanded us to *obey those who have the Rule over us, Heb. xiii. 1.* and to be *subject to the higher Powers, Rom. xiii. 1.* And hath left a Power with the Governors of the Church to take Care that *all Things in the Publick Worship be done decently, and in Order, 1 Cor. xiv. 40.* And therefore, whosoever wilfully and openly breaks the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church thus ordained, is a schismatical Person, a Disturber of the Church's Peace; and, inasmuch as all Vice is of a spreading and infectious Nature, as *St. Paul* tells us, *1 Cor. xv. 33.* a Wounder of the Consciences of the weak Brethren, by inclining them to follow his bad Example. And although private Admonition be necessary when Mens Faults are not open and notorious; for then we are to *intreat them as Fathers if they are old, and as Brethren if*

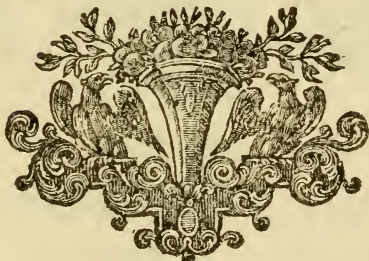
ART. XXXIV. *if they are young, as we see 1 Tim. v. 1. Yet when the Case is otherwise, they that sin are to be rebuked before all, that others also may fear,* ver. 20.

IT hath been already observed, that such Rites and Ceremonies as are of Human Institution, may be different in different Countries or different Times; and the last Clause of this Article observes, where the Authority of ordaining, changing, and abolishing such Ceremonies is lodged, *viz.* in every National Church, and how far it extends, *viz.* as far forth as they tend to Edification. For such Churches have no Power over each other; they are equally subject to Christ, who is their King and Lord, and their Authority is equal. From whence it follows, that in such Things as he hath neither commanded nor forbidden, every Church may use its Liberty as Occasion shall require, provided it does as *St. Paul* directs, *Rom. xiv. 19.* that is, *if it follow after the Things that make for Peace, and Things wherewith one may edify another.*

I R E N Æ U S, in his Account of the Dispute betwixt *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, concerning the Observation of *Easter*, hath these Words; *S. Polycarp* being at *Rome* with *Anicetus*, and they having had some little Controversy with each other, presently composed the Difference, and shewed themselves no Lovers of Strife upon this Account: For neither could *Polycarp* be persuaded by *Anicetus* to observe it as he did, having always observed it as *St. John*, the Disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the Apostles observed

observed it, with whom he had been conversant. Neither could he persuade *Anicetus* to observe it as he did, who said in his Defence, that 'twas his Duty to observe it as the Elders did who were before him. And this being the Result of their Debate, they communicated with each other, *Pag.* 466. †

† See *Preface to the Common-Prayer.* *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book III. and IV. §. 13. *Whitgift's Def. Tract.* 2. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 4. §. 3. q. 5. *Burrough's of Schism,* Sect. 4. §. 6.





ARTICLE XXXV.

Of the HOMILIES.

ART. XXXV. *The Second Book of Homilies, the several Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the Time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People.*

¶ *Of the Names of the Homilies.*

I. *Of the right Use of the Church.*

II. *Against Peril of Idolatry.*

III. *Of Repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*

IV. *Of good Works, first of fasting.*

V. *Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.*

VI. *Against Excess of Apparel.*

VII. *Of Prayer.*

VIII. *Of*

VIII. Of the Place and Time of Prayer. ART. XXXV.

IX. That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministred in a known Tongue.

X. Of the Reverent Estimation of God's Word.

XI. Of alms-doing.

XII. Of the Nativty of Christ.

XIII. Of the Passion of Christ.

XIV. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

XV. Of the Worthy Receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

XVI. Of the Gifts of the holy Ghost.

XVII. For the Rogation Days.

XVIII. Of the State of Matrimony.

XIX. Of Repentance.

XX. Against Idleness.

XXI. Against Rebellion.

The EXPOSITION.



IN this Article, the Doctrine of the *Homilies* is asserted in Opposition to those of the Church of *Rome*, who condemn them as Heretical; and the Reading them in Churches is asserted in Opposition to the Puritans, who say, that nothing ought to be publickly read in Churches but the Holy

ART. XXXV. Holy Scriptures, for which I should be glad to see one Scripture Proof. *

BUT the Truth and Equity of this Article will best appear by perusing the *Homilies* themselves. And 'tis indeed the Duty of all those who are to subscribe to the Articles, to peruse them seriously : The Book of *Homilies* is certainly a very useful Book ; and whoever reads it over, will have no Occasion to think his Labour lost. No Quotations either from Scripture or the Fathers are made Use of under this Article, because the *Homilies* do in all proper Places abound with both.

* See *Whitgift's Def. Tract.* 21. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book V. §. 20.





ARTICLE XXXVI.

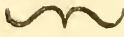
*Of Consecration of Bishops and
Ministers.*

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops ART. XXXVI.
and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests
and Deacons, lately set forth in the
Time of Edward the Sixth, and con-
firmed at the same Time by Authority
of Parliament, doth contain all Things
necessary to such Consecration and Or-
dering: Neither hath it any thing that
of itself is superstitious and ungodly.
and therefore whosoever are Consecra-
ted or Ordered according to the Rites
of that Book, since the Second Year
of the forenamed King Edward, unto
this Time, or hereafter shall be Conse-
crated or Ordered according to the same
Rites, we decree all such to be rightly,
orderly, and lawfully Consecrated and
Ordered.

The EXPOSITION.



IF any-thing be wanting in the Ordi-
nations of the Church of *England*,
the Form of which is prescribed in
the Book which this Article men-
tions, it must be on the Part of the Ordainers;
but these are Bishops: Or in the Manner of
X x Ordaining;

ART. XXXVI.  Ordaining ; but this is the Imposition of Hands with proper Prayers. Thus the Apostles ordained the seven Deacons, *Acts* vi. 6. *When they had prayed, they laid their Hands on them.* Or finally on the Part of such as are to be ordained ; but these are examin'd as to their Faith, Manners, and Knowledge. There is therefore nothing wanting which is necessary to make these Ordinations just and complete.*

THE Forms which were made Use of in Consecrating the Clergy in the Primitive Church are not now extant. But if the Reader consult the most antient that are now to be met with, he will find nothing omitted by our Church which was formerly required to make an Ordination complete.

BUT to discourse a little more fully upon this Article, I shall endeavour to obviate and answer what Objections it is either liable to, or may have met with, either from the Sectaries or those of the Church of *Rome*. And,

FIRST, I think it proper to observe, That by Archbishops we do not mean Persons of a distinct Order from Bishops ; for when a Bishop is made an Archbishop, he is only translated as any other Bishop is from one ordinary or common Bishoprick to another, and without any other Ordination or Consecration than he had before. Archbishops, indeed, were not so soon

* See *Mason de Ministr. Anglic.* lib. I. c. 16. *Bedel's Answer to Waddeſworth*, c. 11. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.* c. 4. §. 3. q. 7. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* Book V. §. 77. *A Vindication of the Ordination of the Church of England.* *Field of the Church*, Book V. c. 56. *Expof. on Art. XXIII.*

known by that Name as Bishops were, but their Eminency seems to be admitted soon after the Days of the Apostles ; for when a Bishop was so successful in his own and his Presbyters Ministry, as to convert, at too great a Distance for his own Inspection, a numerous People, he divided his Charge into more Hands, and consecrated other Bishops, to take a more immediate Care of the Flock ; retaining to himself and his Successors, the Cognizance of Causes of Appeal ; and by reason of his Eminency over those that were delegated from him, he was called Archbishop or Chief Bishop, under whose Inspection the other Bishops ruled the Flock : When Sovereign Princes became Christian, they changed the Bounds of Archbishops and Bishops Dioceses, as stood most with the Conveniency of their Dominions, the Bishops enjoying the same Power they derived from Christ without Molestation.

SECONDLY, I must observe, that some have looked upon these Words in the Ordination Service, mention'd in this Article, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, as too bold and assuming, and to intimate that it is in our Power to convey the Holy Ghost. And to this it is to be answered, That since the several Functions and Administrations that are in the Church, are by the Apostle, said to flow *from one and the same Spirit*, all of them, from the Apostles down to the Pastors and Teachers, we may then reckon, that the Holy Ghost is given, though in a much lower Degree, to those who are inwardly moved by God, to undertake that Holy Office ; so that though that extraordinary Effusion that was poured out upon the Apostles, was in them in a much higher Degree, and was accompanied

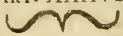
ART. XXXVI. with most amazing Characters ; yet still such as do sincerely offer themselves up, on a Divine Motion, to this Service, receive a lower Portion of this Spirit. This being laid down, the Words *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, may be considered as a Wish or Prayer ; and so it will better agree with what follows, *And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word and Sacraments*. Or it may be observed, that in those Sacred Missions the Church and Church-men consider themselves as acting in the *Name and Person of Christ*. In Baptism it is expressly said, *I Baptize in the Name of the Father, &c.* In the Eucharist we repeat the Words of Christ as well as in Ordination, and apply them to the Elements, as said by him ; so we consider such as deserve to be admitted to those Holy Functions, as Persons called and sent of God ; and therefore the Church, in the Name of Christ, sends them ; and because he gives a Portion of his Spirit to those whom he sends, therefore the Church, in his Name, says, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*. And in this Sense, and with this Respect, the Use of these Words may well be justify'd. But,

THIRDLY, The chief thing intended in this Article is to oppose the grand Objection of the *Romanists*, against the Orders of the Church of *England*, founded upon the Alteration which was made in our Ordinal, *Anno 1662*. as if that were a tacit Consent on our Side, that before this Alteration was made our Ordinal was not sufficient, and therefore no Orders could be conferr'd thereby, and consequently that neither they which were ordained by it, or we that have derived our Orders from them, have received any legal and sufficient Ordination thereby. To
which

which I answer ; 1. That the putting in of Explanatory Words, to make things clearer, and render them more free from Cavil and Objection, cannot well be termed Alteration. 2. That supposing really there had been any such Alteration made as to the whole Substance of the Form, yet this is no more than what the Church of *Rome* hath often done, there being scarce an Age in which she hath not considerably varied from herself herein, as may be seen by comparing those many different Forms of Ordination used in the Church of *Rome*, which are collected together by *Morinus*, a learned Priest of that Church, in his Book concerning Ordinations. 3. The Alterations, or rather Explanatory Additions, made in our Ordinal in the Year 1662. were not inserted out of any respect to the Controversy which we have with the Church of *Rome*, but only to silence a Cavil of the Presbyterians, who from the old Ordinal drew an Argument to prove, that there was no Difference between a Bishop and a Priest, because, (as they say) their Offices were not at all distinguished in the Words whereby they were conferred on them when ordained, or any new Power given a Bishop, which he had not before as a Priest. For the Words of Ordination in King *Edward's* Ordinal, are, for a Priest, as followeth ; “ Receive the Holy Ghost ; Whose
 “ Sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and
 “ whose Sins thou dost retain they are retained,
 “ and be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word
 “ of God, and of his Sacraments, in the Name
 “ of the Father, and of the Son, and of the
 “ Holy Ghost.” And for a Bishop, “ Take
 “ the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou
 “ stir up the Grace of God which is in thee by
 “ Imposition of Hands. For God hath not
 “ given

“ given thee the Spirit of Fear, but of Power,
 “ and Love, and Soberness.” And they so
 continued ’till the Review of our Liturgy, *Anno*
 1662. And then to obviate the above-mention’d
 Cavil of the Presbyterians, those Explanatory
 Words were inserted, whereby the Distinction
 between a Bishop and a Priest is more clearly
 and unexceptionably express’d: So that now
 the Words of Ordination for a Priest are,
 “ Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and
 “ Work of a Priest in the Church of God,
 “ now committed to thee by Imposition of
 “ our Hands. Whose Sins thou dost forgive,
 “ &c.” And for a Bishop, “ Receive the
 “ Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a
 “ Bishop, now committed to thee by the Im-
 “ position of our Hands, in the Name of the
 “ Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
 “ Ghost; and remember that thou, &c.” But,
 4. Having thus stated the Case, and laid before
 you the Differences between the new Ordinal
 and the old; now, to come to the main of the
 Objection, I assert, that had the old Ordinal
 been continued without any such Addition,
 although it might not clearly have obviated the
 Cavils of the Adversaries, yet the Orders con-
 ferred by it would have been altogether as valid.
 And as to the Objection made by the Gentle-
 men of the Church of *Rome*, that the Words
 of our old Ordinal do not sufficiently express
 the Office conferr’d thereby, this must be un-
 derstood either in reference to the Priestly Ordi-
 nation, or the Episcopal, or both. And, 1. As
 to the Priestly Ordination there seems not to be
 the least Ground for it, because the Form in
 the old Ordinal doth as fully express the Office,
 Power, and Authority of a Priest as need be
 required, in these Words, “ Whose Sins thou
 “ dost

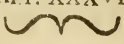
“ dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose
 “ Sins thou dost retain they are retained. And
 “ be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of
 “ God, and of his Sacraments ;” wherein the
 Whole of the Priestly Office is expressed.
 But, 2. As to the Episcopal Ordination, the
 whole Pinch of the Argument seems to lie
 there, because in the old Form of the Words,
 spoken at the Imposition of Hands, the Office
 and Authority of a Bishop (they say) is not so
 particularly specify'd. To this I answer, 1. That
 I think this sufficiently done in the Words of the
 Form, “ Remember that thou stir up the
 “ Grace of God which is in thee by Imposition
 “ of Hands, for God hath not given us the
 “ Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and
 “ Soberness ;” for they are the very Words of
 St. Paul to Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, (2 Epist.
 ch. i. ver. 6, 7.) whereby he exhorts and stirs
 him up to the Execution of his Episcopal Of-
 fice, and they have always been understood to
 refer thereto, and therefore, I think, they may
 be also allowed sufficient to express the same
 Episcopal Office, when spoken to any other,
 and fully determine to what Office the Holy
 Ghost is given by Imposition of Hands in the
 Form mentioned, and properer for this Purpose
 than any other, because of the greater Autho-
 rity which they must have, in that they are
 taken out of the Holy Scripture. But if Men
 will cavil on, and still object that the Name of
 Bishop is not expressed in the Form, or the Du-
 ties and Power of that Office with sufficient
 Clearness specify'd in the Words mentioned, the
 Objection lies much more against the *Roman*
 Ordinal than against ours, as being much more
 defective herein. For the whole Form used
 therein at the Consecration of a Bishop is no

ART. XXXVI.


ART. XXXVI.

more than this, [*Receive the Holy Ghost*] that being all that is said at the Imposition of Hands, and asserted by them to be the whole Form of Episcopal Ordination. And therefore *Vasques*, a learned Jesuit and most eminent School-man, makes the same Objection against the *Roman Ordinal*, that the *Romanists* do against ours. For in *Tertium Thomæ Disp.* 240. c. 5. n. 57. his Words are, “ These Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, which are spoken by three Bishops together, with Imposition of Hands, over the Person to be ordained, seem to be so general, that they do not express the proper Office and Degree of a Bishop, which yet did seem necessary for the Form of his Ordination.” But to this he himself gives a Solution (*N. 60. of the same Chapter*) in these following Words: “ Neither doth that hinder which I have said before, that these Words [*Receive the Holy Ghost*] were too general; For although by these Words considered in themselves, the Office or peculiar Degree of a Bishop cannot be denoted, and they may be also said for any other Order; but as they are pronounced (the Imposition of Hands of three Bishops joined together being also had therewith for the Matter of Ordination) they do truly denote the Degree of a Bishop, to which the Person elected is ordained. For they, after this manner, laying on their Hands all together, by those Words do denote that they receive him into their Fellowship, and to this end do give the Holy Ghost, and therefore do place him in the same Episcopal Order with themselves, whereas the Imposition of Hands made use of by one Bishop only, and the same Words [*Receive the Holy Ghost*] with a few others

“ added

“ added to them, spoken by the same Bishop ART. XXXVI.
 “ in the Ordination of a Deacon, do not either 
 “ as considered in themselves, or as spoken by
 “ the Bishop and apply'd to this Matter, denote
 “ the peculiar Office or Degree of a Deacon ;
 “ neither can they, as spoken by one Bishop,
 “ with such a Matter, denote the Ordained to
 “ be admitted into the Fellowship with the
 “ Bishop rather in this Order than in another,
 “ seeing one Bishop is as well the Minister of
 “ Conferring the Orders of the Priesthood, and
 “ of the Sub-Deacon as of the Deacon. But
 “ on the contrary, three Bishops are only the
 “ Ministers of Conferring Episcopal Ordina-
 “ tion. And I do therefore think it to be the
 “ Will of Christ, that his Church should in this
 “ Ordination, use such Words as, consider'd in
 “ themselves, are only general, that it might
 “ denote thereby that abundant Grace of the
 “ Holy Spirit which is conferred on Bishops in
 “ their Ordination. For it seems to be much
 “ more that the Holy Ghost be given absolutely,
 “ than that it be given for this or that peculiar
 “ Effect.” Thus far the learned Jesuit ; and
 if this may be allowed to be a Solution of the
 Objection against the Ordinal of the Church of
Rome, it must also be a sufficient Solution of
 the same Objection against our Ordinal. For
 with us, as well as in the Church of *Rome*,
 there are always three Bishops present at the
 Ordination of a Bishop, which all together lay
 their Hands on the Bishop elect when or-
 dained, and not only this Circumstance, but
 many others in the Administration of this Of-
 fice, according to our Ordinal, do as fully shew
 what Order the Person on whom they thus lay
 their Hands, and pronounce the above-men-
 tion'd Form of Consecration over, is to be
 admitted

admitted to. The Complex of the whole Office shews it. For the Person to be ordained or consecrated is presented to the Metropolitan, as one to be made a Bishop; is prayed for as one to be made a Bishop; is examined or interrogated as one to be made a Bishop; is vested in the Episcopal Robes, and is ordained by a Form never used but in the Ordination of a Bishop; and all these together, with many other such like Circumstances in that Office, too long all to be put down, are certainly sufficient to determine the Words of the Form to the Episcopal Office only, were there nothing in the Words themselves to do it, as it is certain there is not in the Form used by the Church of *Rome* to this Purpose. To this let me add,

1. That though such of the Clergy as had been ordained by King *Edward's* Ordinal, and refused to comply with Popery at its Restauration in Queen *Mary's* Reign, were declared by the Papists, in the Heat of their Fury and Revenge, to be only in pretended Orders, yet such of them as did comply, which were not a few, kept both their Livings and their Orders without any new Ordination, all being saved by a Dispensation, which could not have been done, had their Orders by that Ordinal been conferr'd contrary to Christ's Institution, against which there can be no Dispensation by any Power on Earth whatsoever.

2. That *Bonner* himself, in the Heighth of his Zeal and Rage against us, hath nothing to alledge against this Ordinal, in his Book that he wrote against our Orders, except this, that in the Ordinal for the Ordaining of Priests we have not this Form, "Receive thou Power to offer Sacrifices to God, and to celebrate Mass both for the Living and the Dead;" and if this be a De-

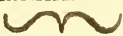
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fect in our Ordinal, and on this Account an essential Part is wanting in our Orders, (as the Gentlemen of *Rome* contend; for this is indeed the whole of what they have to say, when they come close to the Point) it hath also been a Defect in the Church of *Rome* itself, which for a thousand Years together never used any such Form in their Ordination, and it is not now used to this Day, either in the *Greek* Church, or in the Churches of the *Maronites* upon Mount *Libanus*, although the Church of *Rome* allows the Orders of the former to be good, and the latter are Members of their own Communion. Nay, it is further to be observed, that those *Greeks* which live in *Rome*, not only under the Pope's Jurisdiction, to which they have submitted, but also under his very Nose, and have Churches there maintain'd for them at his Cost and Charges, are still allowed to be ordained by their own Ordinal, in which this Form is wanting, as *Morinus*, a learned Priest of the *Romish* Communion, and one that lived some Time at *Rome*, doth attest; and therefore, if for this Defect, (as they call it) our Orders be null and invalid, (as now they would have) why do they allow them to be good and valid in others, which have received them with the same Defect also? or rather, how can they be good and valid in themselves, who have received them from such, as for near a thousand Years (as I have before observed) never used this Form?



ARTICLE XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

ART. XXXVII.  The King's Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Causes doth appertain, and is not nor ought to be subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief Government, by which Titles we understand the Minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the Mint-string either of God's Word or of the Sacraments, the which Thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do most plainly testify; but that only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with
the

The Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Christian Men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear Weapons, and serve in the Wars.

The EXPOSITION.



CERTAIN it is, from the Examples of *David, Solomon, Hezekiah,* and several other pious Princes, that under the Law Princes were by their Office, Keepers of both Tables, and that Ecclesiastical Persons as well as Lay-Men were subject to their Government; and that they had Power to take Cognizance of such Causes as concerned Piety towards God, as well as such as concerned Justice towards Men. Now, since Magistrates had once such a Power, how came they to lose it, or to be divested of it? The New Testament hath no where deprived them, but on the contrary is frequent in asserting the Power of Princes and Magistrates. Thus *Rom. xiii. 1.* we are required to be subject to the higher Powers. And *1 Pet. ii. 13.* to submit ourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake. And when our Saviour tells us, that his Kingdom is not of this World, he sufficiently intimates, that it was neither necessary that he should, and that consequently

sequently he had no Intention to alter the Forms of Government, or revoke the Authority Governors were in Possession of.

THE Primitive Christians were very obedient to their Heathen Governors, and *Tertullian ad Scapulam, Cap. 2.* hath these Words: "We reverence the Emperor as far forth as 'tis lawful for us, and expedient for him, as a Man second to God; and with Regard to what he hath received from God, inferior to God only." But indeed the Church had no Princes for the Three first Centuries or Ages, except such as either persecuted or at least neglected her. For this Reason she was forced to take Care of her own Affairs without them. But as soon as the Emperors became Christians, the Affairs of the Church depended on their Management, as appears by the Preface to *Socrates's* Fifth Book of *Ecclesiastical History*. From this Time they began to call Councils, and to receive Appeals from them, and to take Cognizance of Ecclesiastical Causes, &c. In a Word, 'tis very manifest that the Christian Emperors made Use of whatever Authority the Church of *England* ascribes to her Kings. That Ecclesiastical as well as Temporal Persons may be punished by the Civil Magistrate, appears from *1 Kings ii. 26, &c.* where we read at large, that *Solomon* deprived *Abiathar* the Priest of his Office, and let him know, that 'twas out of Mercy that he spared his Life. 'Tis not therefore without Reason that our Church ordains in her Second Canon, That such as deny our Princes the Power we are pleading for, shall *ipso facto* be excommunicated.

As for Ministring either the Word or Sacra-
 ART. XXXVII.
 ments, it belongs no more to Princes than the
 Burning of Incense did to King *Uzziab*, who
 for attempting it, was judicially smitten with
 Leprosy, and so excluded for ever after, not
 only from all Sacred, but even Civil Society.
 A plain Argument that the Sacerdotal is not
 included in the Regal Office, nor derived from
 thence, but is of a distinct Nature and Institu-
 tion, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16, &c. †

As for the Bishop of *Rome's* Claim of Ju-
 risdiction in *England*, I would fain know upon
 what it is grounded. Does it depend on his
 being *St. Peter's* Successor? My Answer is, That
 all the Apostles were equal in Authority; and
 moreover *St. Paul*, who was the Apostle of the
Gentiles, was not afraid, we see, to reprove
St. Peter, *Galat.* ii. 9, 14. And under the
 XXXIVth Article we observed, that *Polycarp*
 would not yield to Pope *Anicetus* in the Controversy
 about the Observation of *Easter*. A plain In-
 dication that *Anicetus* had nothing to do out
 of his Diocese. And *S. Cyprian* in *Concil. Car-*
thag. hath these Words: — Nor hath any
 one of us set himself up for a Bishop of Bishops,
 or by any Tyrannical Usage terrified his Col-
 leagues or Fellow Bishops into a Necessity of
 Stooping and Cringing to him; being duly sen-
 sible that every Bishop is at Liberty to use his

† See *Jewell's Def. Apol.* Part VI. cap. 11. div. 1. *Whit-*
gift's Defence, Tract. 20. *Bilson of Christian Subj.* Part 2.
Hooker's Eccl. Pol. lib. 5. §. 1. & lib. 8. *Prideaux Fasc. Cont.*
 cap. 4. §. 2. q. 3, 6. *Scott's Christian Life*, Part 2. cap. 7.
 §. 10. *Field of the Church*, Book 5. cap. 53.

ART. XXXVI. I. Power according to his Discretion, and is neither to judge nor to be judged by another. But let us all look for the Judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone hath the Power both of advancing us to the Government of his Church, and of judging us for what we do in the Exercise of our Office.

OR does the Pope's Claim depend upon his Right as a Patriarch? I answer, That *England* is not within the Patriarchate of *Rome*. Or does it depend on the Gift of *Constantine*? That is too ridiculous an Imposture to be seriously refuted. Or does it depend on his being concerned in converting us to the Christian Faith? According to this Way of Reasoning, all Churches, that of *Rome* not excepted, ought to be subject to the Church of *Jerusalem*, but none is to be subject to the Church of *Rome*, which did not receive the Christian Faith from her. And the *Britons* were converted to the Faith long before the Coming of *Augustin* the Pope's Legate.

FROM all this it follows, that when the Pope of *Rome* concerns himself with our Affairs, he is one of those who are reprehended 1 *Pet.* iv. 15. that is, a *Busy-body in other Mens Matters.* *

* See *Jewell's Def. Apol.* Part 4. cap. 14. div. 1. *Bilson of Christian Subj.* Part 1. *Hammond of Schism*, cap. 4, 5, 6, 7. *Prideaux Fasc. Contr.* cap. 4. §. 3. q. 1. *Mason de Minist. Angl.* lib. 4. cap. 3, 4, 15, 16. *Bishop Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government*, cap. 2. *Field of the Church*, Book 5. cap. 32, &c.

THE Scriptures which those of the Church of *Rome* alledge in Opposition to this Doctrine are two Places in the Gospels: The one in *St. Matthew* xvi. 18, 19. the other in *St. John* xxi. 17. In the former of these, that Supream Authority which they contend for, is, they say, promised to *St. Peter*; in the latter 'tis conferred. I begin with the first, *Mat.* xvi. 18, 19. *And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* The Sense of which Words, saith *Bellarmino*, is plain and obvious; giving us to understand, the Sovereignty over the whole Church to be here promised to *Peter*, in two Metaphors. The one is a Metaphor of a Foundation and a Building; the other is a Metaphor of Keys. For what a Foundation is in Building, that the Head is in the Body, the Governor in the City, the King in his Kingdom, and the Father of the Family in the House; and to whom the Keys of a City are delivered, he is appointed the King, or at least the Governor of that City; to admit and shut out whom he pleaseth. To which I have this to say, before I give the true Sense of these Words: That to call this a plain and obvious Sense of the Words, which is wrapt up in a Couple of Metaphors, is to stumble at the very Threshold; and to contradict himself in Terms. For what is metaphorical, is not plain and obvious; but needs Explanation by putting it into common Words: Into which, if these Metaphors be reduced, we shall find there is no such Sense contained in

them as is pretended. I shall explain them distinctly, and begin with the former Part of this Promise, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church*: Which we may call the first Proof they bring of St. Peter's being the *Monarch of the Church*. Which Sense is so far from being plain and obvious, that having considered both the Words, and all the antient Expositors upon them, I can find nothing plainer than these two Things: First, that there is no Certainty St. Peter is here meant by the Rock, upon which Christ saith he will build his Church: Nor, secondly, If he were, that Christ intended by calling him a Rock, to make him the Lord of his Church. First, I say, there is no Evidence that St. Peter is here meant by the Rock; but quite contrary: We are led by the general Stream of antient Interpreters, to understand by the Rock upon which the Church was built, that Faith concerning Christ which Peter had newly confessed. There are more than two that thus expound the Words, for one that expounds them otherwise; and even they who apply these Words to St. Peter had Respect (in calling him the Rock) to his Preaching the Doctrine of Christ; and having the Honour to be the first Preacher of it to the *Gentiles*. Which is all the Privilege that can be thought to be peculiarly intended to him in these Words. For, excepting this, whatsoever was said to him, was directed to all the Apostles; because Peter, as their Mouth, spake the Sense of them all, when he said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God*; and therefore Christ's Answer was returned to them all, when he said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. As much as to say, Thou art what thy Name imports, which

I have

I have given thee with respect to this solid Faith thou hast now confessed ; upon which, as upon a Rock, I will build my Church by your Ministry ; and particularly by thine, who shalt have the Honour to lay the first Stone of it in the *Gentile* World. Thus *St. Austin* expounds the Words in many Places, where he observes, that *St. Peter* had his Name from *Petra*, a *Rock*, *viz.* That Faith which he confessed, upon which Christ told him, he would build his Church. For he doth not say, Thou art *Peter*, and upon thee will I build my Church, but upon this Rock ; which plainly relates to another thing, *viz.* that immoveable Foundation confessed by *Peter*, that he was Christ the Son of God. Whence those known Words of the same Father, I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee*. The other Exposition, which makes *St. Peter* the Rock here spoken of, is against the most unanimous Consent of the Fathers of the Church : Which they of the Church of *Rome* are bound to follow, both by the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, and by the Form of that Oath of Profession of Faith which Pope *Pius* the Fourth drew up and enjoin'd, according to the Mind of that Council †. And yet (so intent are some Men upon their Interest, so resolutely bent to follow nothing else) there are those, who to make these Words sound as if Christ promised to build his Church upon *Peter* himself, have not been ashamed to translate them in the following manner ; Thou art *Peter*, and upon this *Peter* will I build my Church. So *Dr. Allen* would have had the Translation run in

* Tract. 124. in Joh. Sermon. 13. de Verbis Dom. &c.

† Vide Sess. 4.

ART. XXXVII the *Rhemish* Testament, and so *Hart* alledges them in his Conference with *Dr. Reynolds* *. And the *Catholick Scripturist*, as he calls himself, translates them after this manner (according to the Language which *Christ* spoke), Thou art a Rock, and upon this Rock will I build my Church. As if it were lawful for them to do any thing, (even to contradict that very Council, whose Decrees they are sworn to observe,) that they may make the Scripture seem to be on their Side. For the Council of *Trent* hath decreed the old *Latin* Translation to be authentical, with a Prohibition, that no Man dare or presume, under any Pretence, to reject it. Notwithstanding which, here are Men that presume to reform it, and to make a new Translation of their own Heads, as different from that authentick vulgar Translation as from ours: For in this ours and that are the same, as every one may know that understands the *Latin* Tongue. This is a Presumption with a Witness, to make their own Translation depart so far from the Language which *Christ* spoke, as to put *Tu es Petrus*, instead of *Tu es Petra*: For so *Christ's* Words should have been translated, if they signified *Thou art a Rock*, unless they can shew us, that *Petrus*, in any other Author, is *Latin* for a *Rock*. 'Till this be done, we must say that such Men, contrary to their Faith solemnly sworn, depart not only from Antiquity, but from themselves. And when they have done all they can, it will evidently appear, that the Church was not built by his Hands alone, (though he began, as I said, and laid the first Stone among the *Gentiles*,) but by them all, and more-especially by *St.*

* Chap. 2, Divis. 1.

Paul, who was called late into this Office, but *laboured more abundantly than they all*; and as a wise Master-Builder, laid the Foundation upon which others built, 1 Cor. xv. 10. & iii. 10, 11. which Foundation, he tells us, is Christ himself: Who, he likewise says, is the only *Foundation*, and that no Man can lay other Foundation besides him. Which shews this Promise I am treating of, had respect to all that had the Office of Apostles; and wholly ruins the Authority of *St. Peter*, upon which they would have the Church to be built. For if Jesus Christ be the only Foundation that can be laid, then *Peter* cannot be the Foundation; but only as a Minister of Jesus Christ, who helped to lay the Foundation, which is Christ himself and his Faith. In which Ministry he was no more employ'd than other Apostles; but *St. Paul*, who came last into this Ministry, was as wise a Master-Builder as himself, and took more Pains than he or any of the rest; laying the Foundation where neither *St. Peter* or any other Preacher of the Gospel had ever been, lest he should build upon another Man's Foundation, as he tells the Roman Church, Rom. xv. 20. which Words utterly overthrow their vain Distinction of a *first*, and a *secondary* Foundation, whereby they endeavour to elude those Words of *St. Paul* in the Place before-named, 1 Cor. iii. 11. For it appears by this other Place, that *St. Paul* was a *secondary* or *ministerial* Foundation, if we may so speak; that is, speak improperly, meaning thereby one that laid the Foundation: Which he did as much as *St. Peter*, or any other Apostle; nay, a great deal more, as he himself tells us, when he saith, *he laboured more abundantly than they all*. In exact speaking, there is no Foundation on which the Church is built,

ART. XXXVII. but *Christ alone* (as *St. Paul* assures) in whom all the Building fitly framed together, groweth unto an *Holy Temple in the Lord*, *Ephes. ii. 21.* But Faith in *Christ*, being that whereby we are joined to him, it may be called by the same Name: And accordingly the *Colossians* are said to be grounded in the Faith, as upon a *Foundation*, (the *Greek Word* signifies) from which he would have them not to be moved*. And the *Apostles* (as he there saith) being the *Preachers* of this Faith, and the *Instruments* whereby Men were brought to believe in *Christ*, and so joined to him as *Living Stones*, are called by the Name of *Foundation*, in the Place before-named, *Ephes. ii. 20.* Built upon the *Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, &c. But then, it is evident that *Peter* alone is not this *Foundation*, but all the *Apostles*. For there are *Twelve Foundations* of this sort, as we read *Rev. xxi. 14.* by whose *Ministry* the Church was built upon *Christ*; the sole *Foundation* (in proper speaking) that was laid for all to build upon. Secondly; After all this that hath been said, to shew there is nothing here promised to *St. Peter*, but what belongs to all the *Apostles*, except only that of his being employ'd in laying the *first Foundation of Faith* among the *Gentiles*; it remains, that I shew there is nothing in the Word *Rock*, which implies any *Superiority of Power and Authority* over the rest of his Brethren and the whole Church; if we would suppose this *Promise* to have been made to him alone; for it denotes nothing of *Government*; but hath respect to the *Support and Stability* of that *Structure*, which is firmly laid upon it.

* Τῷ πῖτραι θεμελιωμένοι. *Col. i. 23.*

And therefore the ancient Doctors give other ^{ART. XXXVII.} Reasons of his being called a *Rock*, and not this; *because to him was committed the Government of the whole Church, especially about Faith.* Which is the Explanation *Bellarmino* gives of this Word, affirming it to be the Signification of this Metaphor: *For it is proper to a Fundamental Rock, saith he, to govern and sustain the whole Edifice.* This is perfectly new Language, never heard of in the World before, that it is proper to a Foundation to govern; for it is altogether improper, and nobody thinks of any such thing, when he reads of a *Foundation*. But if it be proper, then all the Apostles were Governors of the whole Church, as well as he, because they were all *Foundations*, as was before observed; having the very same Power given to them by Christ, which, we now suppose was here promised to him alone. Unto which they of the Church of *Rome* have nothing to reply, but only this (which is merely a bold Affirmation, and as absurd as all the rest) they were indeed all of them the Heads, Governors, and Pastors of the Church Universal; but not after the same manner as *Peter* was*. But why so? Why truly we are told, That they had the highest and most ample Power as Apostles and Ambassadors; but *Peter* also as an ordinary Pastor. As much as to say, they had indeed the highest Power in the Church, and as large as he, but not so high a Power as his. Let any Man try, if he can make any other Sense of those Words; that is, find any Sense at all in them. For was this Power of being an Ordinary *Pastor*, greater than that of the Apostles,

* *Bellarmin. lib. 1. de Pontif. Rom. cap. 11.*

ART. XXXVII.

or no? If it were greater, then it is not true which he affirms, that the Apostles had the highest Power. If it were less than the Power of the Apostles, then they were all greater than he, as he was *an ordinary Pastor*; and then it is Nonsense to say, they so had a Plenitude of Power, as that *St. Peter* was, notwithstanding, the Head of them, and they all depended on him. For he rather depended on them, as an Ordinary Pastor, if that was less than the Power of the Apostleship: And if it were not, but greater than it; then (as I said) it is false, that the Apostles had the highest Power. This is sufficient to shew into what Absurdities Men run, when they go about to maintain a Falshood; and what wretched Shifts they devise to obscure the clear Truth, which shines in their Eyes; which when they have done, they walk as in Darkness, and cannot be persuaded to see or acknowledge their Error. Nay, one Error grows out of another, and having begun to wrest the Holy Scripture, they go on to strain it, so far as to extend it to any Purpose they have to serve by it. For having presumed that *Peter*, and he alone, is promised to be made the Governor of the whole Church, by these Words of our Saviour, they immediately presume, without the least Shew of Proof, that the Bishops of *Rome* succeed him in this Authority. Which is a very large Step, or rather Leap, from *St. Peter* to the *Pope* of *Rome*, between whom there is such a vast Distance, that it is impossible to make out the Claim to which they pretend from him. For there is no Evidence that *St. Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, but only that he founded that Church, and settled a Bishop there. For if he was Bishop of *Antioch*, it was against all ancient Rules to leave
that,

that, and go to another See. The Truth is, ART. XXXVII. he was properly Bishop of neither, but planted a Church in each ; and first at *Antioch*, before he came to *Rome* : And who can think he did not settle one to take care of that Church of *Antioch* when he left it ? Who might be called his Successor as well as he, whom he is supposed to have placed afterwards in *Rome*. Which two Things being allowed, as unquestionable Matters of Fact, there is no Reason can be given, why all the Power and Jurisdiction, which is claimed on the Account of Succession, should not devolve by the Right of Primogeniture, upon the Bishop of *Antioch* : Since it is confess'd he first sat there, and sat there *seven* Years, which is more than can be prov'd he did at *Rome*, where he was not when *St. Paul* came thither (*Acts* xxviii.) nor when he first answered before *Nero*, nor when he was ready to be offered, *2 Tim.* iv. 6, 11, 16. nor can any certain Time be assign'd when he was there, as we are sure *St. Paul* was, who is acknowledged to be a Founder of that Church, and had as much (or rather more) Right to leave a Bishop to succeed him there as *St. Peter* ; who could transfer to no Body, neither there nor any where else, what was personally vested in him ; as all the Privilege here granted him was. Or if he was to have any Successor in his supposed Dominion, there were others that had a better Title to it than the Bishop of *Rome* ; particularly *St. John*, who it is certain survived *St. Peter*. Therefore all that *Bellarmino* hath to say in this Matter is, that the Apostles being dead, the apostolical Authority remained in *Peter's* Successor alone *. For

* Lib. de Pont. Rom. c. 9.

ART. XXXVII. which he gives us not one Word of Proof, but only this notorious Falshood, that the *Roman* Bishop alone is called by all, The *Apostolical Bishop*, and his See, simply, The *Apostolical See*. When all the World knows *Jerusalem*, *Constantinople*, and divers other Places were called by the same Name of *Apostolical Sees*, or Churches; and their Bishops called not only *Apostolical*, but *Catholick*, and said to be Bishops of the *Catholick Church*. The Meaning of all which is nothing else, but that they held the *Catholick Religion* and Faith, as *Launoy* † most ingenuously confesses, and maintains, the *Roman* Bishops themselves intended no more, when they subscribed themselves Bishops of the *Catholick Church*. Nay, *Bellarmino* himself, in the Place now named, is constrained to acknowledge that the supreme Ecclesiastical Power was given not only to *Peter*, but to other Apostles also. For they might all say that of *St. Paul*, 2 *Cor.* xi. 28. *My daily Business, the Care of all the Churches*. But it was given to *Peter* as an ordinary Pastor, who should have perpetual Successors: To others as Delegates, who should have no Successors. Which is a meer Invention, a pure Figment of his own Brain; without the Shadow of a Ground for it in the Book of God, or any ancient Authority, and against his own Confession, that all the Apostles had the highest Power, which includes a Power both *Ordinary* and *Extraordinary*, and a Power to appoint their Successors in the Places they converted. There have abundance of other Things been said by our Writers, to shew that whatsoever may be supposed to have

† *Epist. pars 1. ad Francis Bonum.*

been promised in these Words, the Bishops of *Rome* can thence derive no lawful Claim to the like Authority. And yet (as if there were nothing plainer, than that Christ spake to the *Roman* Bishops when he said these Words to *St. Peter*) they have the Confidence from hence to intitle the Pope to the Privilege of Infallibility, as well as to a supreme Dominion over the Church. So *Bellarmino*, who elsewhere alledges these Words, to prove that the chief Bishop (that is theirs) when he teacheth the whole Church, in Things belonging to Faith, can in no Case err *. But this depends upon his former Suppositions, that *Peter* is the Rock of the Church as its Supreme Governor; and therefore every one of his Successors in like Manner is the same; which having no Foundation, all his Superstructure upon them falls to the Ground: And indeed, it is so sandy, that honest Men among themselves, are ashamed to build any Thing of this Nature upon it; particularly *Launoy* who on set purpose, demonstrates that *Bellarmino*, neither obeyed the Decree of the *Trent* Council, nor kept the Profession of Faith enjoyn'd by *Pius* the Fourth, when he drew this Conclusion of the Pope's Infallibility, from these Words, Thou art *Peter*, &c. but was guilty of downright Flattery of the Court of *Rome*, for whose Sake, he in like Manner falsified in the Citations which he brings out of the Fathers, to maintain the same Untruth. But further than this, the same Writer presses these Words, to prove, that General Councils cannot err, neither in believing nor

* Lib. 4. de Rom. Pontif. c. 3.

ART. XXXVII. teaching, * which is as much as to confess that what Christ said to St. *Peter*, was intended to all Bishops; of whom a general Council consists. But here he endeavours to bring himself off by this Salvo; *if the Council be confirmed by the Pope*, as if they received their Infallibility from him, who turns their doubtful Opinions into Oracles of Truth. Whence it comes to pass, that from the very same Words [*Thou art Peter, &c.*] he proves the Pope to be above a Council, † immediately constituted by Christ the Pastor and Head, not only of all particular Churches, but also of the whole universal Church congregated together. If this be to interpret the Scripture, I know not what is setting it upon the Rack, and stretching it as far as it pleaseth him who takes it in Hand. No Hereticks ever took so great a Liberty as this; which, according to their Way of Reasoning, makes it necessary to seal up the Bible quite, that no body may look into it. For if the Danger of wresting the Holy Scriptures, be a just Cause for denying the Liberty of reading them to illiterate People, it ought not to be granted to the most Learned, who (it appears by this great Cardinal) are in as much, or more Danger of this than any other Men; and so farewell the Study of the Scriptures, which neither Priest nor People must meddle withal. But thanks be to God, there is such a Thing as Honesty and Integrity still remaining in the World, which qualifies all Men for the wholesome Perusal of them; and hath preserved the Minds of some in that Communion so uncor-

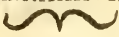
† Lib. de Conc. Autor. cap. 1.

* Ib. cap. 15.

rupted, as to make them disdain and reject these ART. XXXVII.
 perverse and arrogant Interpretations, or rather
 Distortions of Holy Scripture. There is one
 that hath lately declared his Sense of this Pro-
 mise to *St. Peter* in remarkable Words; with
 which I conclude this part of my Discourse.
 “ Supposing Christ to have spoken these Words
 “ [and upon this Rock] of the Person of *Peter*,
 “ he meant nothing else thereby, but that *Pe-*
 “ *ter* should labour very much in the Edifica-
 “ tion of the Church; that is, in the Conver-
 “ sion of the Faithful, and Administration of
 “ the Churches. And therefore the most that
 “ can be deduc’d from hence, is, that he should
 “ be the first and chief among those who were
 “ to preach the Gospel: But it cannot from
 “ hence be gathered with *Bellarmino*, that the
 “ Government of the whole Church was com-
 “ mitted to *Peter*, especially about Faith”. †

THE Truth of this will appear further in
 the Explication of the next Words, which ex-
 pound these which I have now treated of.
And I will give unto thee the Keys of the King-
dom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind
on Earth it shall be bound in Heaven: and what-
soever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in
Heaven. The Sense of which is not so plain and
 obvious as *Bellarmino* pretends; but we agree
 that they are a plain Allusion to the Words of
 the Prophet *Isaiab*, concerning *Eliakim*, *Isa.*
xxii. 23. I will give thee the Keys of the House
of David, that is, make thee not High Priest,
 as he grossly mistakes, but *Steward* of the Roy-
 al Family, to take in and thrust out, whom

* Du Pin de Antiqu. Eccles. Discipl. Dis. 4. cap. 1. sect. 1.
 thou

ART. XXXVII.  thou shalt think fit. Such was the Power here promised to *Peter* by our Lord, who saith of himself, that *he hath the Key of David* (*Rev. iii. 7.*) that is of the House or Family of *David*, which he alone governs by an absolute Power; but tells *Peter*, he intended to make him under himself his supreme Lord and Master, such a Steward in the Church as *Eliakim* had been in the Court. I say in the Church, for by the Kingdom of Heaven, I think no body now will dispute, is meant the Family of Christ, or the Christian Church in a great many Places of the Gospel, and most likely is so to be interpreted here. But if any body be so minded as to understand by the *Kingdom of Heaven*, not the Christian Society here below, but the Company of the Blessed above; let them consider that the Sense will still be the same, because by Admission into the one, and abiding in it, we come to the other. And Baptism is the Key which lets us into the Church, out of which such as notoriously break their Baptismal Vow, ought to be shut by the Censures of the Church; and again received into it upon their hearty Repentance, by granting them Absolution. Thus the following Words expound it, *and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, &c.* That *binding* and *loosing* are one and the same with the Power of the Keys, is acknowledged by the *Roman Catechism* *, and by *Bellarmino* himself, who confesses the plain Sense of these Words to be, that *first of all an Authority or Power is promised, defined by Keys; and then the Actions or Office of this Power is explained by those Words, loosening and binding; so that to loose and to open, to shut and to bind, is altogether the*

* De Sacrament. Pœnitent. n. 44.

same Thing *. And we need not trouble our-^{ART. XXXVII.} selves any farther to inquire how far this Power extends ; for it is certain there is nothing here promised, tho' we suppose it never so large, which was intended to him alone, but to them all, except that of opening the Door first, to let the Gentiles into the Church. This is apparent from what was said before concerning Christ speaking to them all in him, as he spake for them all, in Answer to our Saviour's Question propounded to the whole Company ; which produced this Promise from our Saviour, not to him alone, but to all them in whose Name he spake : Which is no new Interpretation, but as old as the Church itself ; for the Ancients say, with an unanimous Consent, that these Keys were given to the whole Church in the Person of *Peter* † ; as a late Writer in the *Roman Communion* honestly confesses. *St. Austin* particularly *inculcates this an hundred times* (as his Words are) a Proof of which may be seen in another of his Brethren ‡, who hath made a Collection of twenty-six Places out of his Works, to shew that he taught this openly, frequently, and constantly, in such plain Words as may be understood by themselves, without the Help of an Interpreter. I cannot well forbear to mention one of them, because it affords us many considerable Remarks. § “ As some
“ Things (says he) are spoken, which may seem
“ properly to belong to the Apostle *Peter*,
“ and yet have not a clear Sense, but when
“ they are referred to the Church (whereof he

* Lib. 1. de Pont. Rom. cap. 12.

† Du Pin de Antiq. Eccles. Disc. Dif. 4. c. 1. sect. 1.

‡ Jo. Launoy Ep. par. 2. Hadriano Valantio p. 14, &c.

§ Aug. Enar. in Psal. 108.

ART. XXXVII.


“ is acknowledged to have represented the Per-
 “ son in a Figure, because of the Primacy
 “ he had among the Apostles) as that is, *I will*
 “ *give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,*
 “ and if there be any like: So *Judas* sustains
 “ after a certain Manner, the Person of the
 “ *Jews, the Enemies of Christ, &c.*”. Here
 they of the Church of *Rome*, are very forward
 to catch at these Words, which signify a Place
 of *Priority*, that *Peter* had among the Apostles
 (which no body denies) but are not willing to
 take any Notice of all the rest, which utterly
 overthrow that *Primacy* which they would ad-
 vance him to from this Place. For, first, he
 says, some Things do but seem to belong to
Peter, which in Truth ought to be referred
 to the Church. And, secondly, that their Sense
 is *not clear* or evident, till they be carried be-
 yond *him*; among which Things, thirdly, he
 reckons what our Saviour here saith, *I will*
give thee the Keys, &c. which they would now
 ingross to *St. Peter*, and have us believe this
 to be the plain and obvious Sense of Christ’s
 Words, which *St. Austin* says, are not plain
 unless we refer them to the Church. Whose
 Person (fourthly) he says, he bore or repre-
 sented, not by Virtue of his Place, or any Au-
 thority he had above the rest, but *in a Figure*,
 to signify Unity, that is, as the Ancients inter-
 pret it. And it is further observable (fifthly)
 that Christ did not promise him the *Primacy*
 (here spoken of) before, and with Respect to
 that Christ directed to him these Words, ra-
 ther than any of the rest, because he was al-
 ready the *first*, not in Office but in Order; and
 so the fittest Person to be singled out to repre-
 sent what Christ intended. And to convince
 every one that there is no authoritative Prima-
 cy

cy meant in these Words of St. *Austin*, he adds ART. XXXVII. (sixthly) that *Judas* sustained the Person of Christ's Enemies, as *Peter* did of the Church. Will any body infer from hence, that *Judas* had a Jurisdiction over all the Wicked, and left it to his Successors, one of which hath now the same? Let them forbear then to make such Inferences from what is said of St. *Peter's* Primacy, which gave him no Right to rule, but only made him stand fairest, being the first to be chosen to represent the rest. If any will be still so perverse as to wrangle, because St. *Austin* doth not mention *Judas's* Primacy, as he doth St. *Peter's*, let them learn more Modesty, by knowing that *Prosper*, one of St. *Austin's* Scholars, upon the very same *Psalms*, says in express Terms, that *Judas* carried the Priority of Christ's Enemies *; which, if they will not expound to signify a supreme Authority to govern Christ's Enemies, let them no longer interpret St. *Peter's* Primacy to signify such an Authority over his Friends. That he had none here promised him is as certain as any thing can be. But the Keys to commend Unity were promised him; which were in Truth given to all the rest. This is the ancient Sense, which drew this plain and pertinent Observation from another honest Writer in the *Roman* Communion, † “ He said to *Peter*, I will give thee the Keys, but he did not say, I will give them to thee alone ”.

WHICH is justified to be true, by three other Passages in the Holy Gospels. In the

* *Judas Primatum gessit inimicorum Christi.*

† *Regaltius in Firmil. Ep. it.*

ART. XXXVII.  first of which he promises as much to all in the very same Words as he had done to him. *Matt. xviii. 18. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* Which is the Explication, as was said before, of *the Power of the Keys*, in the same Terms (without the least Difference but what is between the *Plural Number* and the *Singular*) wherein it was delivered to *St. Peter*; and in the next Chapter he repeats it again, only in other Words, when he saith, *Matt. xiii. 28. Ye shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging* (that is ruling and governing) *the twelve Tribes of Israel*, without any mention of *one Throne*, peculiar and higher to the rest, to *St. Peter*. And thus far, there is no more than a Promise to be met withal in the Gospel, but no actual Grant, no Words whereby our Lord makes a Conveyance of this Power to them, till after his Resurrection from the Dead. When he gives out a Commission to them, as large as can be made; wherein there is nothing peculiar reserved to *St. Peter*, but it runs in general Terms to them all, *John xx. 21, 22, 23.* For he neither saith, I send thee, nor breathed upon him alone, saying, Receive Thou the Holy Ghost: Whosoever Sins thou remittest, &c. But he saith to them, being all, save *Thomas*, assembled together, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said thus, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever Sins ye retain, they are retained.* And accordingly it may be added, when the Holy Ghost descended (of which this breathing on them was an Emblem and Pledge) they were all (*Thomas* with

with the rest) *with one Accord in one Place*, and it was imparted to each of them alike, without any Mark of Distinction. For we read of no Flame that crowned the Head of *St. Peter*, greater and more illustrious than that upon his Brethren : but the Text saith, the Tongues, like as of Fire, were divided, and sate upon every one of them singly *ἐφ' ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν*, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, *Acts ii. 2, 3*. The mighty Wind also, wherein this Flame came (betokening the powerful Inspiration which was entering into them) *filled all the House where they were sitting*, and not only that Corner where *St. Peter* was placed : And so this Promise was equally performed in common to them all. Nay, this very Thing is no less than a Demonstration, that the Promise was intended to all, because the Performance was to all. That here his Promise was performed, is very manifest to those who are desirous to understand the Truth ; for no other Time can be named when it was performed to *Peter*, nor any other Words found, wherein the Thing promised was conveyed, but these, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*. And, lastly, This is the Sense of the Church, as appears by *St. Cyprian* in ancient Times, who observes, that our Lord, who said to *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, &c.* gave to all his Apostles equal Power after his Resurrection, when he said, *As the living Father sent me, so send I you, &c.* concluding from thence, that all the Apostles were what *St. Peter* was : * And by *Theophylact* in later Times, who thus glosses upon *Matt. xvi. 19*.

* Hoc utique erant & cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, &c. L. de un. Eccles. & Ep. 23. ad Julianum.

ART. XXXVII. “ Tho’ our Lord said only to *Peter*, *I will give thee*, yet they were given to all the Apostles. “ When? At that Time when he said, whose- “ soever Sins ye remit they are remitted: For the “ Word, *I will give*, denotes the future Time, “ that is after the Resurrection”. Then he said to them all, *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you*. Which are Words so large, that they contain in them a *Plenitude of Power*; and confute the Conceit of those who say, that Christ indeed gave the Power of remitting and retaining Sins to all the Apostles, but the Power of the Keys to *Peter* alone: Whereby if they meant that to *Peter* it was given to open the Gate first to the Gentiles, it ought to be allowed to be a true Sense; tho’ we are not certain it was the Thing peculiarly intended by our Saviour in these Words: But understanding thereby a distinct Power from that of *binding and loosing, retaining and remitting*, (which *St. Peter* exercised when he let the Gentiles into the Church) it is certainly false that he gave him such a Power, which he did not confer upon the rest. For should we suppose *binding and loosing* to be distinct from *the Power of the Keys*, yet this *Power of the Keys* (be it what it will) we may be sure is included in these comprehensive Words, *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you*, which were spoken to them all: And therefore as *the Keys* were not promised to him alone; so not to him *more* than to any other Apostle, but only the Use of them *first* before any other Apostle. That’s the most (as I have often said) which can reasonably be conceived to be peculiarly promised to *Peter* in these Words, that he should first open the Door of Faith to the Gentiles, as we read he did, *Acts* x. and, as some think, to the *Jews* also, *Acts* ii.

Tertullian

Tertullian seems to be of this Mind * (and I shall not here dispute it) who mentioning this Place, I will give thee the Keys, &c. proceeds thus ; So the Event teaches us, the Church was first built on him, that is, by him: He first handled the Key. See what Key ; To Men of Israel, bear these Words : Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God among you, &c. (Acts ii. 22. &c.) He in fine did first, by the Baptism of Christ, unlock the Entrance of the Heavenly Kingdom, and be bound Ananias with the Bond of Death ; and he absolved the Man lame of his Feet, from the Weakness wherewith he laboured, and in the Dispute which arose about the Observation, or Obligation of the Law. Peter first of all, by the Instinct of the Holy Ghost (having told them how God made Choice of him, that the Gentiles should hear the Word from his Mouth) said, And now why tempt ye God, to put a Yoke upon the Neck of the Disciples, which neither our Fathers nor we were able to bear, &c. where he plainly makes the Power of the Keys, and binding and loosing to be the same Thing ; and from the Scope of his Discourse, it appears (as *Lauvo* hath observed) that they then believed at Rome, that in the Person of Peter, the Keys were given to the Church ; that is, says he, the Power of binding and loosing †. Which Things, if the *Catholick Scripturist* had known, or would have been pleased to mind, how could he have had the Confidence to say, That our Lord spake these Words to Peter to signify, that he was the Head and Chief in ordinary. For tho' the Power of binding and loosing was afterward given to the other

* L. de Pudicit. c. 21.

† Epif. Par. 2. Hadriano Vallantio, P. 6.

ART. XXXVII. *Apostles, yet the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are never in Scripture said to be given to any but St. Peter* *. By which Keys also he saith is signified, *the Plenitude of highest Power* : For this vain Conceit is contrary to the common Opinion of the ancient Fathers (whom they are bound, by their Profession of Faith and Oath, to follow) contrary to their greatest Schoolmen (such as *Scotus, Aquinas, Alex. Alensis*) who affirm, that the Keys promised to *Peter* in *St. Matt. xvi.* were given to all the Apostles in *St. John xx.* contrary also to their own *Catechism*, according to which he ought to have instructed his Followers. The Sum of what hath been said is this ; The Power which our Lord here promised to *Peter*, was not meant to him alone : For he did but represent, and sustain the Person of the Church (as the Ancients speak) to whom this Promise belongs ; and therefore our Lord afterward promises the very same Thing, in the same Words, to all the Apostles, which he here promises to *Peter* ; and accordingly, when he performed his Promise, he gave this Power to every one of them equally. But Christ directed this Promise, at the first, singularly to him, that he might commend *Unity* ; or at the most, he promised him the Honour of opening the Door of Faith first unto the Gentiles : From whence we can only gather, that he was the first among the Apostles ; but not that he was promised any Power which the rest had not, for the contrary is apparent. To all which I must add (repeating briefly what I said upon the foregoing Words) that if we should grant our Saviour to

* The 7th Point, n. 6.

have promised some Power to *Peter* (when he ART. XXXVII. said, *I will give thee the Keys*) which the other Apostles had not; it would prove a personal Prerogative, and cannot be shewn to have descended to any Successor, much less to the Pope of *Rome*; who, *Bellarmino* saith, is a *true Prince*, who hath Power to make true Laws, to bind the whole Church. And this he proves from these Words, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, &c.* * Concerning which it will be thought too sharp perhaps to say (tho' they are the Words of one in the *Roman* Communion †) simply to relate the Words of this Author, is simply to confute them, they are so very contrary to Truth and Equity. The Reader therefore may be pleased briefly to consider, what our Lord himself saith to all his Apostles, *Matt. xxiii. 8, 9, 10.* which utterly overturns these proud Pretensions. *But be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are Brethren. And call no Man your Father upon the Earth; for one is your Father which is in Heaven: Neither be ye called Masters, for one is your Master even Christ.* The Repetition of one and the same Thing so often, in Words of the same Import, argues it to be a Matter of great Moment, which ought to be duly weighed.

AND it is this, that no Man, no not any of his Apostles, should take upon him to prescribe that as a Part of Religion, which God our Saviour hath not prescribed by his Laws; and that we ought not absolutely to submit to any

* I. 4. de Rom. Pontif. c. 16.

† Launoy ubi supra, P. 77.

APT. XXXVII. Man's Dictates, as Children do to the Will of their Fathers, nor pin our Faith, as we speak, upon any Man's Sleeve; *that is*, let it depend intirely upon his Authority: For this is a Submission which is due only to God our Saviour, (who in this Sense of the Words) is our only *Father*, and *Master*, and *Leader*; and therefore we cannot, without the highest Injury to him, own any body else to be such, nor give them these Names; but as they teach, not their own, but Christ's Doctrine unto Men. And in this Office all the Apostles were equal, and no one of them could claim an Authority over the rest of his Brethren. There are many other Places wherein we read of *one Shepherd*, *one Lord*, *one Law-giver*, *who is able to save, and to destroy*: From whence we may conclude, that *Peter* himself had no Power to *make*, but only to *declare* the Laws of his and our Lord and Law-giver *Jesus Christ*. So the Words of Christ's Commission run, when he saith, not to him alone, but to them all, *Go ye and disciple all Nations, &c. teaching them to observe all Things whatsoever I have commanded you*, Matt xxviii. 20. Here is their Authority to publish the Commands of their Master, not what they pleased to command themselves: Which *Peter* was so far from doing, that he went not about the *Abrogation* of the ceremonial Law, and the *calling of the Gentiles*, till he was authorized by an Heavenly Vision, which discover'd this Mystery to him, as a Part of the Counsel of God, but no Law, nor so much as a Thought, of his own. For being charged afterwards by the *Jews* for eating with Men uncircumcised, he excuses himself by a long Apology, wherein he relates how he was commanded to do it by God himself, whom he could not withstand,

Acts xi. 3, 4. which was not done like a Law-giver. Nay, after this Revelation made to him, he was so weak as to observe this Law, to the great Offence of the Gentiles; for which he was reprehended by St. *Paul*, who had the Honour to abrogate the Law of *Moses* among the Gentiles, while St. *Peter* (who began that Work) was the Minister of the Circumcision, *Gal.* ii. 7, 10, 11, &c. Nor doth the Word [*Bind*] import a Power to impose Laws, but only to tie Men to those Laws which are already made. Thus it signifies in that very Place which *Bellarmino* alledges to maintain his Sense of the Word, viz. to make Laws, *Matt.* xxiii. 4. For they bind heavy Burdens and grievous to be born, and lay them on Mens Shoulders, &c. that is, they were rigorous Interpreters of the Laws of God, which it was their Office to expound, according to the plain Sense and Meaning of them, and not according to the Tradition of the Elders, which had made them intolerable Burdens. But suppose the Word to signify what they please, it will do them no Service, because this Power of *Binding* was not promised to *Peter* alone, but to them all, as hath been before proved: And consequently he could do nothing, which they could not do as much as he; that is, they were all *Ministers of Christ*, and *Stewards of the Mysteries of God**: All of them like to *Eliakim*, to whom the *Key of the House of David* is promised, as the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to *Peter*. For by that very Word which we translate *Steward*, or *Dispenser*, is that Office to which *Eliakim* was advanced in the Room of *Shebna*, expressed by

* 1 Cor. iv. 1.

ART. XXXVII. the LXX in *Isa.* xxii. 19, 21. * which was not a *supreme Power* in the Court, where all the rest of the Courtiers did not depend on him as their Lord and Prince, but the Power of a *Prime Minister* in the Royal Family, which he governed not after his own Will, but the King's. In like Manner all the *Apostles* were *Ministers*, by whom Men believed (*1 Cor.* iii. 5.) *Stewards* of the Heavenly Mysteries, which they faithfully dispensed (*1 Cor.* iv. 1, 2.) according to the Will of Christ, who *hath the Key of David*; that is, is the sole supreme Governor of the Church, and gives Rules to it, which the *Apostles* delivered, but did not ordain themselves, nor bind upon Men by their own Authority, but by his. For they were not Authors of the Divine Laws, which they taught, but the Publishers of them, and equal Publishers of one, and the same common Doctrine; which every *Bishop* in the Church hath as much Authority to bind upon Men, as the *Pope*; they being all of the same Merit and Priesthood (as *St. Jerom* speaks) all Successors of the *Apostles*. † There are indeed some other Words of *St. Jerom*, which it may not be amiss to take Notice of in this Place, and which are usually alledged to prove the contrary, *viz.* that he thought *St. Peter* had some Supremacy of Power over the rest of the *Apostles*; from whence our Adversaries hope to derive the like Power to the *Pope* over all *Bishops*: They are in his first Book against *Jovinian*, where he saith, “ One
“ among the Twelve was therefore chosen,
“ that an Head being constituted, the Occasion


* *δικονομίαν.*

† *Epist.* ad *Evagrium.*

“ of Schism might be removed”. But they are unconscionably disingenuous who alledge this Passage, and do not give us the entire Sentence, but only this Conclusion of it; which can have no such Meaning as they pretend, without making meer Nonsense of the Words foregoing, which are these: “ But thou sayst “ the Church was founded upon *Peter*; tho’ “ the very same, in another Place, is done upon all the Apostles, and they received the “ Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the “ Strength of the Church is solidly bottomed “ upon them equally”. And then follow the Words now named, *yet one was therefore chosen among the Twelve*, &c. which makes it as clear as the Sun, that he dreamed of no such *Headship of one* over all the rest, as signifies a Supremacy of Power; for what one Text, he saith, affirms of *Peter*, another affirms of them *all*; they all receiving the *Keys* (which is the highest Power) and the Stability of the Church relying upon them *equally*. I conclude this Part of my Discourse with the Observation of a late learned Writer of our Church*: If any Power, or Degree of Power, was here promised to *Peter*, more than to the rest of the Apostles, it must be gathered either from the Force of the *Substance* of the Promise, or from the *Circumstances* wherewith it was delivered. The *Substantial* Part is nothing else but that of a *Steward* in the Church, set forth by the Emblem of *Keys*, and more explicitly declared by the Power of *binding and loosing*, which carries in it no Intimation of such a Thing as a Su-

* Dr. Hammond's Dispatcher dispatched. P. 3. c. 7. sect. 2. n. 13.

ART. XXXVII.


*pre*mac^y over the whole Church, but only of a ruling *Power* in some Family ; that is, in that Part of the universal Church where his Lot should fall. For this very Thing being presently after promised to all the Apostles, it makes it evident, there was no Supremacy here promised ; for then there must be not *one*, but *twelve* Supremes. As for the *Circumstances*, wherein *this* Part and the *former* of our Saviour's Promise was delivered (which some are pleased to urge as very considerable) they are of no Strength to support so great a Weight as they lay upon them. For *first*, it is very unreasonable that *Circumstances* should be thought of greater Force to declare the Meaning of this Promise, than the very *Substance* itself is. And, *secondly*, all these *Circumstances* (save only that of his own Name and his Father's joined together) are not peculiar to him, but common to others, who *confessed Christ's Divinity*, and had it *revealed from God*, and were *blessed*, and designed for *Stones* in the *Fabrick* of the Church, as well as *Peter*. And further, even that *Circumstance* of calling him *Simon Bar-jonas* had a visible Reason for it, to distinguish this *Simon* from *Simon Zelotes* ; so that there is nothing left but the small *Circumstance* of calling him by his Name, to be the grand Foundation of *St. Peter's* Supremacy. Can any one be satisfied with such poor Proofs? Which are no better than if we should argue in this Manner ; Our Lord said to *Peter*, *Follow me*, and so he did to the other Eleven, and by this made them his Disciples in common. But had he said *Simon Bar-jonas, follow thou me*, (as he might very well, if any other *Simon* were then present) he alone (according to this Way of discoursing) had been taken into Discipleship,

and

and none after him enjoyed this Honour. But I have said enough upon these Texts, and shall now proceed to the last Reserve of the Roman Church, for the Support of this Cause, which lies in these Words of Christ to *Peter*, *John* xxi. 15, 16, 17. *Feed my Lambs*, and *feed my Sheep*. They are sensible of the Truth of that, which hath been often repeated, that in neither of the former Places Christ gave any thing to *Peter*, but only promised he would give him such Things as are there mentioned. Now they are hard put to it, to find when he did perform this Promise, and not find withal, that he performed it to all the Apostles; and therefore, as I have said, made it to them all. Here is the only Place they rely upon; here they would fain find what is no where else to be found, something peculiarly granted to *Peter*, which was conferred upon none of the rest: Read the Words, say they, and observe how they are peculiarly spoken to *Peter*; So when they had dined, *Jesus* said to *Simon Peter*, *Simon Son of Jonas*, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, *Yea, Lord*, thou knowest I love thee. He saith unto him, *Feed my Lambs*. He saith to him again the second time, *Simon Son of Jonas*, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, *Yea, Lord*, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, *Feed my Sheep*. He saith unto him the third Time, *Simon Son of Jonas*, lovest thou me? *Peter* was grieved because he said unto him the third Time, *Lovest thou me?* And he said unto him, *Lord*, thou knowest all Things; thou knowest that I love thee. *Jesus* saith unto him, *Feed my Sheep*. See, say they, with what Solemnity our Lord here speaks to *Peter*, and to him alone, calling him three Times particularly by his Name and Relation, and bidding him, as oft, feed his
Lambs

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Lambs or Sheep; whereby he instated him in the Office he had promised him, and made him in a peculiar Manner, to be a *Pastor*, even the Pastor of the *Whole Church*, with a supreme Power over it. To which we reply, *First*, That having seen and considered all this, we can see nothing here that looks like a *Grant* or *Commission*, nothing given to *St. Peter* by these Words; which are a plain *Charge* or *Command*, requiring him to do his Office, which was therefore conferred upon him before, together with the rest of the Apostles, when our Lord said, *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you, &c. Receive ye the Holy Ghost, &c.* *Secondly*, That as here is no Commission, no Conveyance of any thing made to him, but a bare Precept to do his *Duty*; so the *Duty* doth not concern him alone, but belongs to them all as much as him. It is at this Time required in a Precept directed to him alone, that's true; and *Bellarmino* might have spared all his Labour to prove that these Words were spoken to *Peter* alone. They were so, if we understand thereby, that he only by Name is now admonished of his Duty; (the Reason of which we shall see presently) but the Duty of which he was admonished, was not peculiar to him; and so the Words do not belong to him alone, as appears by many Arguments. *First*, From *St. Peter* himself, who seems to have interpreted the Mind of Christ in this Speech to him, in his Words to the Elders of the Church to whom he wrote, *1 Peter v. 1. The Elders, which are among you, I exhort, who am, What? The Monarch of the Church? The Vicar of Christ, or Pastor of Pastors? The chief Apostle or supreme Bishop? No such Thing, but συμπεροβίτητος, your Fellow-Elder, &c. Feed the Flock of God which*

which is among you, &c. And from whom did these Elders receive their Power and Authority? from St. Peter? No such Matter, but from the chief Shepherd or Pastor, from whom he bids them expect their Reward, *ver. 4.* Secondly, In like Manner St. Paul gives the very same Charge to the Elders of *Ephesus*, to take heed to themselves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood, *Acts xx. 28.* For, Thirdly, Christ, as I said, had given this Power unto all his Apostles, when he said, *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you, &c. John xx. 21.* What did he send them to do? But to gather together in one, the Children of God that were scattered abroad, and to feed his Flock, as he the good Shepherd had done, *John x. 11.* and *xi. 52.* And therefore we may say of these Words as *Rigaltius* doth of the former. He said to Peter, *Feed my Sheep*; but he doth not say, *Do thou alone feed them.* No, it may be further observed, that our Lord, in his Life-time, sent them all to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel, *Matt. x. 6, 7.* And a little before this, seeing the People scattered abroad as Sheep having no Shepherd, he bad his Disciples pray that the Lord would send Labourers among them: Not one who should depute others, but as many as were needful to gather in his Harvest, *Matt. ix. 36, &c.* Fourthly, And therefore thus the ancient Fathers have expounded these Words, particularly the *Roman Clergy* themselves, in their Letter to the Clergy of *Carthage*, where, admonishing them of their Duty, in the Absence of St. Cyprian, by reason of the then Persecution, they press them with these Words to Peter, *Feed my Sheep*; which they tell them, the rest

ART. XXXVII. of the *Disciples in like Manner did*, and accordingly it was now incumbent upon them also *, *in the Room of the Pastor, to keep the Flock.* This *Launoy* proves to be the Exposition of the Church, and most justly condemns *Bellarmino* (and such like Flatterers) as failing in his Duty; which required him to expound these Words according to the Sense of the whole Church, which is directly against this Exposition, that Christ here gave this Power to *St. Peter* alone †. A great many of the ancient Popes of *Rome*, he there shews, speak otherwise; and one of their Neighbour's *St. Ambrose*, expressly declares, that those Sheep, and that Flock which Christ commanded *Peter* to feed, *he did not alone receive, but he both received them with us, and with him we all received them* ‡. As much as to say, what Christ said to *Peter*, he spake in him to all Bishops: Which is the Sense of *St. Austin* in a great many Places, as the same Author shews § making *Peter* here also to have represented the whole Church; so that *when it was said to him, it was said to all, Lovest thou me? Feed my Sheep* †. Fifthly, But what need have we of any further Testimonies? When this *Preface* is sung not only in the Feast of *St. Peter*, but of all the rest of the Apostles and Evangelists (except *St. John*) and on their *Octaves* in the *Roman Church* at this very Day; “ We
“ humbly beseech thee, O Lord, the eternal
“ Pastor, not to forsake thy Flock, but pre-
“ serve it with continued Protection, by thy

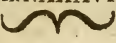
* Vice Pastoris custodire gregem.

† Epif. Par. 2. ad Raimundum Tormentinum, P. 27. &c.

‡ L. de sacer. dig. c. 2.

§ *Launoy* Epist. Pars 5. Carolo Magistro.

† De Agone Christiano, cap. 30.

“ blessed Apostles; that it may be governed ART. XXXVII.
 “ by the same Rulers, which as Vicars of thy 
 “ Work, thou didst bestow upon it, to be set
 “ Pastors over it ”. This is sufficient to shew
 that the *Roman Church* itself hath anciently
 believed, this Charge was given to all the
 Apostles to feed his Flock, and be the chief Pa-
 stors of it. * What? will some say, was there
 nothing here peculiarly spoken to *St. Peter*?
 No Mystery in those Words thrice repeated and
 specially directed to him by Name, as you can-
 not but acknowledge? Yes, no doubt, but it
 is no more than this, that *Peter* of all the rest,
 had lately thrice denied his Master. This might
 well have made *Peter* himself question his Love to
 Christ, and move our Lord to ask him, whether
 he still remained as confident as he was before,
 that he had a greater Affection to him, than
 any of his Disciples. For so he begins his
 Speech, *Lovest thou me more than these?* As
 he had fancied he did, when he said; Tho’ all
 Men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I
 never be offended, *Matt. xxvi. 33.* The Vani-
 ty of which Thoughts he had found by sad
 Experience, he alone denying, nay, abjuring
 his Master. In this *Peter* was singular, and
 did more than any of the rest; for which Cause,
 more was to be said to him, and more was to
 be done by him, than any of them. He was
 to answer thrice to three Questions, which were
 solemnly put to him, that by a threefold Con-
 fession he might obliterate his threefold Denial.
 This is all the Mystery which the ancient
 Christians could find in this solemn Speech,
 made with particular Application to *Peter*, as

* Præesse Pastores.

ART. XXXVII. may be seen in St. Cyril of Alexandria*, St. Austin †, Gregory Nazianzen ‡, and a long Train which I could set down of other Fathers; which assures us that this was the common and literal Exposition of these Words, and that they understood no other Reason, why our Lord addressed himself only to Peter, tho' other Apostles were present, but only this; that he might declare he would have Peter, notwithstanding his denying him thrice, be confident, upon this Profession of Love to him, he was restored to his Favour, and that he would have him no less than the rest, look upon the Care of his Flock as belonging to him, who had deserved by his shamefully repeated Denial of him, to fall from that Office, more than any other of his Apostles: For tho' they all fled, yet none denied him but Peter alone; and therefore these Words were as if our Lord had said; Tho' there be Cause enough for me to reject thee, yet because thou didst repent thee of thy Sin, and dost now profess thy Love to me, Feed my Sheep, no less than the rest of my Apostles, to whom I have committed the Care of them: Which will sufficiently expose the Vanity of the *Catholick Scripturist*, who bids us, against the Sense of all Antiquity, to note, that our Lord would not have required greater Love in Peter, rather than in any of the rest, nor have said *Lovest thou me more than these?* if he had not here intended to give him higher Dignity in Pastorship than the rest §. Let me therefore desire the Reader not only to note

* In John xxi.

† Tract. 47. in Johan.

‡ Tract. 29.

§ Seventh Point. n. 7.

what hath been already said, but also these Words of St. Cyril upon this Head, who was a better *Scripturist*, and more *Catholick* than this Jesuit. I will not set them down at large, but only the Conclusion of them, which are very remarkable, and expressly expound this Passage as I have done. “ In that Speech of our Lord, “ Feed my Sheep, there was a kind of *Renewal* * of the Apostleship formerly bestowed upon him, doing away the Infamy of his Falls, and blotting out the Cowardice of human Infirmy”. Where a great Person of our own hath very justly remarked upon the Word *Renewal* †; He doth not say that our Lord *augmented* his Dignity (which is the new Doctrine) but that he *renewed* it, or *restored* him to it. Which Dignity he had said in the Beginning of this Discourse, *Peter* was advanced unto, when our Lord named him, not *above others*, but with *other Disciples* to be an Apostle ‡; and therefore now did not give him more than the rest, but only declared he did not take the Forfeiture he had made of that Dignity, but re-instated him in it together with the rest. This is undoubtedly the ancient Sense of Christ’s Church, to which I know not what to add for the Explication of these Words, unless it be this; that *Peter* had just before this Discourse of our Lord’s, begun to express his earnest Desire to recover his Favour, casting himself into the Sea (when the other Disciples came by the Ship) to get to our Saviour; which may be looked upon as a Token of excess-

* ἀνανέωσις. ὡσπερ τῆς, &c. L. 12. in Joh. P. 1120.

† Bp. Andrews’s Tortura Tort. P. 51.

‡ ὁμῶς τοῖς ἑτέροις.

ART. XXXVII. five Love to him, and of a more than ordinary Desire to enjoy his Company. From hence a very learned Writer of this Church, thinks our Lord takes Occasion to make this Speech to him (but whether to *check* or to *cherish* that Desire, he dares not determine) the Import of which, he gives in this Paraphrase. * “ Thou
 “ hast made Profession of more than ordinary
 “ Love to me, of Readiness to lay down thy
 “ Life for my Sake, tho’ all others, even these
 “ thy Fellows, should forsake me; and art will-
 “ ing, I see, by thy present Hazard of it to
 “ make good thy former Words. But wouldst
 “ thou have me yet to shew thee a more ex-
 “ cellent Way? I have told it thee long since;
 “ Thou art converted, strengthen thy Bre-
 “ thren. *Simon* the Son of *Jona*, if thou de-
 “ sirest to prove thy self a *Cephas*, or, testify
 “ the Sincerity of thy Faith and Love (which
 “ by the Powers of Darknes were, of late,
 “ so grievously shaken) *Feed my Lambs, Feed*
 “ *my Sheep*. Yea, seeing thou thrice deniedst
 “ the Shepherd of thy Soul, I say unto thee
 “ the third Time, *Feed my Sheep*. Let the Me-
 “ mory of thy fore-passed three-fold Sin, also
 “ let this my present three-fold Admonition,
 “ excite thee unto triple Diligence in thy
 “ Charge to shew such Pity and Compassion,
 “ as I have shewed to thee, unto that lost and
 “ scattered Flock, which have denied me, or
 “ consented to my Crucifying. Let thy faith-
 “ ful Performance of what I request at my
 “ Farewel, be the first Testimony of thy Love
 “ to me, to be lastly testified by the Loss of
 “ thy Life, which thou didst promise me


* Dr. Jackson upon the Creed, Book 3. c. 7.

“ when I gave mine for my Sheep, (*John* xiii.
 “ 37.) but shall not pay, till thou hast fulfilled
 “ this my Request. Verily, verily, I say unto
 “ thee, when thou wast young, thou girdedst
 “ thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst,
 “ but when thou art old, thou shalt stretch
 “ forth thy Hands, and another shall gird thee,
 “ and lead thee whither thou wouldst not, &c.”

These Things being well considered, there is no Necessity, I think, to dispute about the Meaning of the Word *Feed* (which is still a Metaphor, it is fit to observe, as well as the two former, *Rock* and *Keys*) for whatsoever can be thought to be meant thereby, all the Apostles were required to do it as well as *Peter*, and had the *Lambs* and the *Sheep* committed to their Care, as much as he. But because there are a great many Things, which many of the *Roman* Doctors draw from this single Word *Feed*, and there are also very curious Observations made about the small Word *My*, and about *Lambs* and *Sheep*, (that is, about every Word of this short Sentence) it will not be unprofitable briefly to examine upon what Foundation they stand.

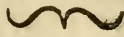
1. Now, by the Word *feed*, they understand *the highest Power* * to have been committed to him ; which, if it were true, then all to whom it is said *Feed the Flock*, had *the highest Power* ; and so there were many Supreams, all the Elders of *Ephesus* (as hath been shewn before) being required *to feed the Church of God*, *Acts* xx. 28. which includes in it, nobody doubts, *Authority* and *Rule* ; but is not the thing *principally*, much less *only* intended ; and is far

* Bellarm. lib. 1. de P. R. c. 15.

ART. XXXVII.  from signifying the *highest Power*. For the Greek Word for *Feed* † in the *first* Mention of this Charge, *Feed my Lambs*, *ver. 15.* and in the *last*, *Feed my Sheep*, *ver. 17.* imports nothing of Ruling or Governing, nor was ever apply'd to signify the Power of Princes; but denotes merely the simple Office of leading their Flock to their Pasture. And accordingly the ancient Fathers commonly refer these Words to *the Feeding* by *Word* and *Doctrine*, to which they had more Regard than to mere Rule and Power, which now is the only thing that is contended for from this poor Word *Feed*: And that because once, *ver. 16.* our Lord uses a Word which is *translated* to this Sense. *Translated*, I say, for it originally signifies no more than the other before-named, denoting nothing of Dominion or Empire. For a Man may be Shepherd of the Sheep, who is not their Lord. But it is apply'd to *Kings*, and to *God* himself, not because it is apt to denote the absolute Dominion of God over all Creatures, or the highest Power of Kings over their Subjects, but to give us to understand how God is affected towards us, and to admonish Kings of their Duty; which is to govern their People committed to their Charge, gently and diligently, as a Shepherd doth his Flock. There are many Places of Scripture that justify this, which I shall not so much as mention, because there is no Reason why *this* Word only should be regarded and the *other* neglected; nor why the *other* should not rather interpret *this* (being twice repeated, and *this* used but once) than this interpret the *other*; nor why either should signify Ruling

† Βόσκει.

after the manner of a *Prince*, and not of a *Pastor*; nor (if we allow the utmost that can be made of it) why they should suppose *Peter* to have had any Pre-eminence in this Authority over the Flock of Christ, which was not grounded upon his eminent affectionate Care, and more than ordinary Fidelity in *feeding it*. And yet, such is the Desire of Dominion in some People, that they have not only made *Peter* universal Pastor, with an ordinary Power, as they call it, which no other Apostle had, but found him a *Successor* also in this Power, and without any Deed of Conveyance, but this one Word *Feed*, made the *Pope of Rome* his sole *Heir*; unto whom they ascribe the most exorbitant Power, derived to him from *St. Peter*, sole Heir to the great Shepherd of the Sheep, Christ Jesus. If you would know what this Power is, *Bellarmino* will inform you; who here and there in his Works, asserts the Power of the Bishop of *Rome* to extend unto *five* great Things; for the Support of which he alledges these Words, *Feed my Sheep*. First, he saith, that he is hereby made the Supreme Judge in Controversies of Faith.* Nothing
 “ can be more clearly spoken in the Gospel,
 “ than that which our Lord said to *Peter*, in
 “ the Presence of the rest of the Apostles,
 “ *Feed my Sheep*: For he spake to *Peter* only,
 “ and he gave him all his Sheep to feed, so
 “ that he did not exclude the Apostles them-
 “ selves. Now it cannot be disputed but that
 “ it is one of the Offices of a Pastor to discern
 “ good Pasture from bad.” Secondly, he proceeds from hence also to make the *Pope* an

ART. XXXVII.


* Lib. 4. de P. R. c. 1.

ART. XXXVII. *infallible Judge.* † “ For in these Words, saith
 “ he, *Feed my Sheep*, the Pope was made Pastor
 “ and Doctor of the whole Church ; and if so,
 “ then the whole Church is bound to hear and
 “ to follow him ; so that if he err, the whole
 “ Church will err with him.” Thirdly, Hence
 also he derives his Power to make Laws for the
 whole Church. ‡ “ For Christ, says he, giving
 “ *Peter* what he promised, uses a kingly Word,
 “ *viz. ποιμανε.*” And therefore, Fourthly, He
 proves by this, that the Pope is absolutely
 above the whole Church, even above a General
 Council. § “ For since Christ the good Shepherd
 “ hath communicated to *Peter* his own Name,
 “ in these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, it is plain,
 “ the Pastor is so above the Sheep, that he can
 “ in no wise be judged by them.” Fifthly, In
 fine, he proceeds so far, as from these Words
 to prove *the Pope's Temporal Power over Prin-*
ces, * “ whom if they be *Hereticks* (for In-
 “ stance) he may not only excommunicate, but
 “ command the People also not to obey them,
 “ and therefore to deprive them of their Do-
 “ minion over their Subjects.” Wherein he
 follows several of their Popes, *viz. Gregory* the
 VIIth, *Boniface* the VIIIth, and *Nicholas* the
 IVth, who in their *Decretals* alledge this Place
 to maintain the Power which they challeng'd to
 themselves in *Temporal Things*. But these are
 such far-fetch'd and absurd Inferences from
 these Words, that to name them, as was said
 before, is to confute them ; this being not to
 interpret the Scripture, but to torture it, and

† Lib. 4. de P. R. c. 3.

‡ Ibid. cap. 16.

§ Lib. 2. de Concil. cap. 17.

* Lib. 5. cap. 7.

force it to say what they please, though never^{ART. XXXVII.} so much against its Meaning: Which some in their own Communion are so sensible of, that they abhor such violent Abuses of God's holy Word; and openly declare there are no such Things as these to be found therein. One more particularly * hath demonstrated *Bellarmino's* Arguments to be sophistical, and against the Rules of the Council of *Trent*, when he proves from these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, the Pope's Superiority over General Councils, and his unerring Judgment in Matters of Faith, and then shews that forty Popes of *Rome*, by calling every Bishop of the Church their *Fellow-Bishops*, have openly declared these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, are not proper to them alone; and that this is a most certain Tradition of the *Roman* Church itself, by its Bishops; which he proves from *Stephen* the First to *Innocent* the Third, by near *Two hundred and twenty Testimonies*; which, if they be not sufficient to make a Tradition, there can never be any sufficient Tradition, as he speaks, it being scarce possible there should be any thing better testified. And another also † more lately hath overthrown these presumptuous Assertions; shewing, that all the Apostles and their Successors, were *Pastors of the Flock of Christ*; who spake to them in the Person of *Peter*, when he said, *Feed my Sheep*. And that if these Words had been spoken to *Peter* alone, and his Successors, they would not have proved them to be *infallible* ‡, or their Authority to be above that of a General Coun-

* Launoy Epist. Pars 2. & Pars 5.

† Louis El. Du Pin.

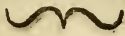
‡ De Antiq. Eccl. Discip. Dif. 5.

ART. XXXVII. cil §; much less that they have Authority over Kings or their Dominions, either *directly* or *indirectly*; the Church Universal having always understood these Words to speak of a *Spiritual Power* only. And therefore they that are not ashamed to interpret them otherwise, depart from the Sense of the Catholick Church; that they may, by any Means, defend their unlawful Attempts*. But secondly, If the Word *Feed* alone will not do this great Business, *Bellarmino* hopes the next little Word *My*, will assist mightily to the establishing the Universal Pastorship. For, he saith, it furnishes them with a notable Reason, why all the Flock that called Christ their Owner should be looked upon as his †. “For since Christ adds, without any Restriction, the Pronoun *My* to the Noun *Sheep*, it manifestly signifies, that all those Sheep were commended to *Peter*, which can be called Christ’s Sheep; and it is certain, all are Christ’s Sheep, none excepted.” To which, if any one should think fit to reply (as no mean Persons have done) that our Lord in the Word *My*, if any Emphasis must be laid upon it, pointed to those who had been his own peculiar Charge in his Life-time, when *he was not sent but to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel*; I appeal to all Men of Sense, whether it would not be a more reasonable Exposition than his: Especially when they shall consider, that these *lost Sheep*, the *Jews*, were afterward the peculiar Care of *St. Peter*, unto whom the Gospel of the Circumcision was committed, as the Gospel of the Uncircumcision to *St. Paul*; for he that

§ Dif. 5.

* Dif. 7. P. 485.

† Lib. 1. de Rom. Pon. cap. 16.

wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of ART. XXXVII.
 the Circumcision (that is of the Jews) the same
 was mighty in me, saith St. Paul, towards the
 Gentiles, &c. Gal. ii. 7, 8. 

BUT there is no need of this Interpretation, nor do I rely upon it; since our Lord expressly declared in his Life-time, *Other Sheep I have, which are not of this Fold, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice; and there shall be one Fold, and one Shepherd,* John x. 16. All which *Sheep* were committed to the Care, not of *Peter* alone, but of all the Apostles: Every one of which had an equal Share in his Charge; tho' *Peter* (as I have shewn) had Need to be particularly excited to do this Part of his Office, and to feed as many as he could possibly, seeing the Proof of his Love to Christ, and of his Fidelity, in which he had lamentably failed, did therein consist. Thirdly, after all this, they make pleasant Work with the Words, *Lambs and Sheep*, which they say, include the whole Church, Apostles and all; so that they who were *Pastors* no less than *Peter*, are turned into *Sheep*, to be led by him. Which is confuted by the whole History of the Gospel, and by all Antiquity; nothing being plainer than that *Peter* did not so much as nominate a Successor to *Judas*, much less take upon him by his sole Authority to appoint one; but the whole College of the Apostles appointed two Persons to be presented to God, desiring him to *shew which he had chosen,* Acts i. 23, 24. Nor did he ordain St. *Stephen* and the other six Deacons; but the *Twelve* called the Multitude of the Disciples unto them, and bad them *look out seven Men, &c. Whom we* (not *Peter* alone) *may appoint over this Business,*
Acts

ART. XXXVII. *Acts* vi. 3. Nay, more than all this, *Peter* was so far from exercising supreme Authority over them, that the Apostles sent *him*, as there was Occasion, not he *them*, to do an Apostolical Office; and also sent *John* in joint Commission with him, *Acts* viii. 14. And I have observed already, how *St. Paul* withstood *him* to his Face, and that publicly, when he was in an Error; which can no Way consist with the Supposition of his being inferior to *Peter*, in Order or Power. For tho' an Inferior may privately give his Advice to his Superior; yet to call the supreme Governor in Question, and to reprove him before all, is intolerable Presumption, and Contempt of Authority. But this Conceit is so very dear to them, that they not only tell us, that if every one of the other Apostles be *Sheep* of Christ, *St. Peter* is here made *Pastor* to every one of them, for he is commanded to Feed *them*. But some of them find a Mystery in these Words, which the better to accommodate to their Fancies, they turn into *three* instead of two only, which are in the *Greek* *. And by *Lambs*, *ver.* 15. and by little *Sheep* (as they will needs have it read *ver.* 16.) understand the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*; and by *Sheep*, *ver.* 17. the *Bishops* of the Church, who are (says *Belarmine* †) as it were the *Ewes* or *Mothers* of the *Lambs*; and therefore the Lord committed to *Peter* the Care of the *Lambs*, that is of the People of the *Jews*; and of the *Little Sheep*, that is, the People of the *Gentiles*; and of the *Sheep*, that is, they that brought forth these *Lambs* in Christ, which are the Apostles

‡ Ἰσραὴλ & ἔθνη

† L. i. de Rom. Pontif. cap. 16.

and Bishops. Or by *Lambs*, he saith, we ART. XXXVII. may understand mere Laymen, the People who have no pastoral Care, being only Children, not Fathers in Christ; and by the *Little Sheep*, inferior Priests, who are so the Fathers of the People, that they are Bishops Sons; and by *Sheep*, the great Priests, that is Bishops, who are so set over, both Lambs and Lambkins, that they are, notwithstanding, subject themselves to *St. Peter*. That is, you may understand this Mystery how you please, if you do but so contrive it, that *Peter* have all under his Care, and the Apostles themselves be his *Curates*. But they who can be pleased with such Conceits as these, have very little Reverence for the Holy Scriptures; and 'tis a great Affront to our Understandings, to offer us meer Imaginations for Reasons; their own Dreams instead of the divine Oracles. If it may consist with Christian Sobriety, to make such a nice Distinction between *Lambs* and *Sheep*, as to make them imply different Things, (any more than the two several Words for *Feed*, and for *lovest thou me*, are thought to do *) it is far more likely that our Lord intended to signify, the Care that ought to be taken of all Christians suitable to the Diversity of their States. *Some of which*, as a great Man of our own Church speaks †, *are to be handled tenderly, and cherished like Lambs; others to be looked unto like elder Sheep, and to be fed with stronger Meat, but with less personal or assiduous Attendance.* This hath some Sense in it, which is very useful, and agreeable to all Mens

* Βόσκει & Ποίμανε, ἀγαπᾶς & φιλεῖς.
 † Dr. Jackson. B. 3. c. 7. sect. 10.

ART. XXXVII. Thoughts : But if we set our Fancies on Work, they abound with vain Conceits, of which we can find no End. For if *Lambs*, and *Lambkins*, and *Sheep* only be St. *Peter's* Walk, and he the Shepherd, where are the *Rams*? (as a no less learned than ingenious Man asks §) they are excepted it seems, and *Rams*, as *Turrianus* fancies, are the *Apostles*, or their Successors, that is, Bishops; or, as Cardinal *Tolet* (*Bellarmino's* Equal) will have it, * they are Kings and Princes; and so these two, Apostles and Kings are by this Interpretation shut out, whom *Bellarmino* intended by his Device to have shut into *Peter's* Fold. But the graver Sort of Writers even in the *Roman* Church, are ashamed of such Mysteries as these, which they see may be invented at Pleasure. *Maldonate* † himself (to say nothing of *Jansenius*) bids those who subtly enquire, why Christ calls his Disciples *Lambs*, rather than *Sheep*, think again, and again, what they do, and take Heed, lest they expose themselves to the Laughter of the Learned: For the Difference is in Word not in Sense, save only, that the Word *Lambs*, hath something in it more soft and tender, and might be used to commend them the more to *Peter's* Affection. For this diminutive Form of Speech, is a Sign of very tender and ardent Love, and more moving than any other; as appears by the common Instance of a dying Father, who expresses more of his own Affection, and works more upon his Friends, if he says, I commend to you the Care of my *little Babes*,

§ Dr. Collin's Epphata. P. 51.

* In 15 Joh. Annot. 3.

† In Joh. 21. 15. &c.

than if he simply says, I commend the Care of ATR. XXXVII.
my Children to you : Whence it is our Saviour sometimes used this Form, just before he parted with his Disciples, *John* xiii. 33. *Little Children, yet a little while I am with you, &c.* And his Apostles also, particularly St. *John*, who uses it *seven Times* in his first Epistle, to declare the Greatness and Tenderneſs of his Love, and to excite the like in others. That Writer (*Mal-donate*) indeed purſues no leſs than the other the Pretenſions of the Church of *Rome* from theſe Words, tho' he doth not approve of this Curioſity, inſiſting upon Chriſt's committing *all the Sheep* (that is in his Opinion all Chriſtians) to St. *Peter* : Which will not do their Buſineſs, ſince they were no otherwiſe committed to him, than they were to the reſt of Chriſt's Apoſtles ; who had the ſame Power given them, and were to take the ſame Care of all Chriſt's Flock that he did. Not that every one of them was to *feed*, or teach *all* Chriſtians, ſimply and univerſally underſtood ; for that was impoſſible, and would have made the Labours of the reſt uſeleſs, if one were ſufficient ; but *all* indefinitely, ſo that among them none ſhould be neglected, but inſtructed by ſome, or other of them. This muſt neceſſarily be the Meaning ; for otherwiſe, our Lord required *Peter* to do that which could not be done by one Man, or if it could have been done, would have made all the other Apoſtles idle, and left them nothing to do. No, ſay they, we do not mean that *Peter* alone was to preach the Goſpel to all Nations, ſo he could not *feed* all ; but this Sort of *feeding* muſt be allowed to others ; but he alone was to rule and govern in chief, to feed by Authority and Power over all, where- by he was to preſcribe what was to be taught
and

ART. XXXVII. and believed. But this is to return, where we were before, to the Signification of the Word *Feed*, which cannot mean one Thing with respect to *Peter*, and another with respect to the rest; but signifies the same Power, be it what it will, common to them all. If this need any farther Explication, those Words of our Lord, *Go, and teach all Nations, Matt. xxviii. 19. Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel unto every Creature, Mark xvi. 15.* will satisfy us, that *Peter* had no peculiar Authority conferred on him, above the other Apostles: For he gave this Charge to them all, and it was ushered in with a far more magnificent Preface to it, than when he spake here particularly to *Peter*; for he first acquaints them with his own supreme Authority, saying, *All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth*; and then adds, *Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, &c.* Which is a Commission as large as could be given to Men; including in it, all the Power that was necessary for the establishing and governing those Churches, which they should gather unto Christ. Who can think that they who had this Authority given them, were themselves to be taught and governed by *Peter* alone: Nothing could put such a Conceit into Mens Heads, but an ambitious Desire, to advance themselves to the highest Dominion, by raising *Peter* above all others; who, it is evident, did not take themselves to be at all inferior to him, nor to be less able to *Feed* him, than he was to *Feed* them. For *St. Paul* (who was herein Inferior, that he was called late to be an Apostle, *as one born out of due Time*) did take upon him to feed *Peter*, and that with his *Staff* too (if I may so speak) that is, with his Reproof, and this at *Antioch*, *St. Peter's* own Seat; where it had been very proper

proper for him, one would think, to have stood upon his peculiar Prerogative, if he had known of any belonging to him, which, if he could have challenged, we should still be to seek by what Right the Bishop of *Rome* claims the same Authority that St. *Peter* had. O says *Boniface* the Eighth *, Christ spake to *Peter* and to his Successors, when he said, *Feed my Sheep*. But how doth he prove it? Why we must take his bare Word for it, both that he spake these Words to *Peter's* Successors, and to them alone, and that the Bishops of *Rome* are his sole Successors: All this he delivers as an infallible Dictator, and it is not good Manners to question that the Universal Flock of Christ is so committed to them, that *Whether Greeks or others shall say, they are not committed to Peter and his Successors, they must necessarily confess they are none of the Sheep of Christ*. But it is worth any body's while to read on to the End of that Piece where he asserts this; whereby the Reader will be infallibly satisfied, he was no infallible Interpreter, but a gross Perverter of the Holy Scriptures. For here it is, that he proves, that there is in the Church, both the *Spiritual* and the *Temporal* Power, from those Words, *Behold here are two Swords*, *Luke xxii. 38.* and that the Temporal Power is subject to the Spiritual, because the Powers that are, are ordained of God (*Rom. xiii. 1.*) for they would not be in Order, unless Sword were under Sword, and Spiritual Things are superior to Temporal. For the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, is verified of the Church and Ecclesiastical Power, *Chap. i. 10. Behold, I have set thee this Day over the Nations, and*

* Extravagant. L. 1. Tit. 8. de Major & Obedientiâ.

ART. XXXVII. *over the Kingdoms, to root up and pull down, &c.*
 Therefore the Temporal Power, if it go out of the Way, must be judged by the Spiritual; but the supreme Spiritual Power, by God alone, not by Man; as the Apostle bears Witness, 1 Cor. ii. 15. *He that is spiritual judgeth all Things, but he himself is judged of no Man.* After all which goodly Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures (more like *Pasquil* than the *Pope*) he concludes most pontifically, *We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether necessary to Salvation, for every human Creature to be subject to the Pope of Rome.* This is the Conclusion from *Feed my Sheep*, and from other Places of Scripture, expounded after the same Fashion as he abuses this: Which tho' it be very presumptuous, yet is not too arrogant for him, who could entertain such a monstrous Conceit, as this, which we read in one of his *Decrees* *, where he says, “Christ made *Peter* “ the Chief; that from him as from a certain “ Head, he might diffuse, as it were his Gifts “ into the whole Body; for that having taken “ him *In Consortium individux Trinitatis*, into “ the Partnership of the undivided Trinity; “ he would have him called that which the “ Lord himself was, saying, *Thou art Peter,* “ and upon this *Rock*, I will build my Church”. Now if *Peter* be thus exalted into the *Consortship of the Blessed Trinity*, and the *Pope* have a just Claim to all that belongs to *Peter*; then is the *Pope* no less than *our Lord God*, as some of the Canonists have called him, to whom *Boniface* might well conclude, all must be subject upon Pain of Damnation. I shall close

* Sexti Decret. L. 1. Tit. 6. cap. 17. Fundamenta.

this Head with a few Observations, which I ART. XXVII. hope will appear much better grounded than their proud *Decrees*.

FIRST, It is worth considering, that this lofty Structure which they have erected in the Church of *Rome*, of the Supremacy of their Bishop, is built barely upon three Metaphorical Speeches of our Saviour to *St. Peter*, without one Word or Syllable concerning the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other that was to succeed him. One might reasonably expect to have an Affair of such great Consequence better founded, and more clearly expressed, than in this Manner, *Upon this Rock*, and *I will give thee the Keys*, and *Feed my Sheep*: And that we should have been acquainted in downright, plain, and strong Terms, whose Share the Inheritance of this supreme Power, which is supposed to be conferred by these figurative Expressions, should fall to after *St. Peter's* Decease; especially, if the eternal Salvation of our Souls depends upon our acknowledging and submitting to the Person that should from time to time succeed him, as supreme Monarch of the whole Christian Church. And yet, this is the Case, this is all that even so considerable a Writer as *Bellarmino*, who seldom overlooks any thing that seems to make for his Purpose, would venture to alledge out of the Holy Scriptures for the Proof of so weighty a Point; for he had too much Sense and Discretion to mention those two Places, which the *Rhemists* in their *Annotations* on the *New Testament* have so ridiculously apply'd to this Purpose. One of them is in *St. Matt.* xiv. 28. Where, upon the Word *Walk*, they have this wise Observation. “*Peter* (saith *St. Bernard*) walking upon the
 B b b 2 “ Waters

ART. XXXVII.

“ Waters as Christ did, declared himself the
 “ only Vicar of Christ ; which should be Ruler
 “ not over one People, but even all ; for many
 “ Waters are many People. And from hence,
 “ he deduceth the like Authority and Juris-
 “ diction to his Successors the Bishops of
 “ *Rome*”. An excellent Inference! for which
 they are very much obliged to St. *Bernard*, who
 was so quick-sighted, as to spy so notable a
 Declaration of St. *Peter*'s sole Vicarship, and
 draw from thence such a fine Argument for the
Pope's Authority, as no ancient Doctor, besides
 himself was able to find in this Place. But
 must his Fancies be admitted, as substantial
 Proofs of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Supremacy,
 which was raised to a great Height in his Days?
 If such Conceits as these may be allowed to
 pass for Arguments, no Man hath any need
 to be at a Loss how to defend the most abomi-
 nable Heresies, that the Wit or Wickedness of
 Man can possibly invent. Their second An-
 notation is altogether as considerable, and be-
 cause they do not pretend to father it on St.
Bernard, or any other Writer, we will let them
 have the Honour of inventing it themselves.
 We are told it seems, *Luke* v. 3. that our Sa-
 viour, seeing two Ships by the Lake of *Gennesa-*
reth, enter'd into one of them only, which was
Simon's, out of which he taught the People after
 he had desired him to thrust out a little from the
Land. From whence they very gravely remark,
 “ That by *Peter*'s Ship, the Church is signified
 “ or resembled, in which alone the Chair of
 “ Christ, and true Preaching are to be ex-
 “ pected”. By which, it is manifest they
 would have us to understand, that as *Peter* was
 Owner of the Ship, so he and his Successors
 are Rulers and Governors of the Church. For
 upon

upon the seventh and tenth Verses, they observe how *Peter* had so much Work, that he was fain to call for Help, and joined those who were in the other Ship, as Copartners in the Preaching of the Gospel. As much as to say, the Work was committed to him alone, who took in such Help as he needed. He was the only *Pastor*, and all the rest, as was said before, his *Curates*: For they tell us, that "all this aforesaid did properly mean his Travels in the Conversation of the World, and his Prerogatives therein before all Men; as is evident by Christ's special Promise made to him, severally and apart in this Place, that he should be made the Taker of Men". What then became of all the rest? were they to sit still in their Ship and do nothing? O no, by no Means; "He giveth to others (say these Annotators) the like Office, as to *Peter's* Co-operators and Co-adjutors. Before they said that *Peter* called them and joyned them to himself, as Co-partners in the Preaching of the Gospel; but now having better, it seems, be thought themselves, they say Christ appointed them to this Office; yet still they are but *Peter's* Co-operators and Assistants. He was the Taker of Men, and converted the World; they only came in to his Help, and brought all the Fish into his Net. Their Ship signified nothing, it was *Peter* alone that signified all. Their Ship stands for a meer *Cypher*; his Ship is the Figure of the whole Church, where he governs, and they are but *Helps* in Government, meer Co-adjutors unto him, the great, and indeed only Bishop over all. Who can endure such Annotations as these, in which Men play with the Holy Scriptures as they please; and in so

ART. XXXVII. saucy a Manner, as to interpret them directly against the Scriptures. In which, the Apostles call themselves *Workers together with Christ*, 2 Cor. vi. 1. employed by him to be his Co-operators, not St. Peter's; who was so far from being the *Converter of the World*, that his *Travels* and Pains were most bestowed in the least Part of it. Which *Bellarmino*, I suppose, saw well enough, and therefore was so wise, as to avoid the mentioning of such allegorical Trifles, which may serve to entertain the Fancies of silly and weak People, but are the just Scorn and Contempt of those, who have any tolerable Measure of spiritual Understanding; who have heard, perhaps, that the Fathers sometimes resembled the Church of Christ to *Peter's Ship*; but not that they ever dreamed of making him, and the Bishop of *Rome* after him, the Governor of the whole Church, because he was Master of that Ship.

THE second Observation which I desire to make, is, That if the Danger of wresting the Holy Scriptures be a good Reason, why the common People should not be permitted to read them, then no body at all should be allowed to look into them, since 'tis so apparent, that the most learned of their Priests have perverted them more than the common People; and that against their Oath, whereby they are bound to interpret Scripture *according to the unanimous Consent of the Fathers*, who all agree, that what was said to *Peter* in these three Places belong'd to all the Apostles; whose Writings, like the rest of the Scriptures, have by none been more foully abused than by the Popes of *Rome*, whose Interpretations and Applications of them, should they be collected in a Book,

would

would make one of the most shameful Pieces ART. XXXVII. that hath been yet extant in the World. And lastly, Let it be observed once more, how ill they of that Church are agreed about the Interpretation of these *Three* Places of Scripture, which are the Subject of my present Discourse. There are four Interpretations of the first Place, *Thou art Peter, &c.* as hath been elsewhere observed, which have had great Authors in the *Roman* Church as well as others. Some, by *Rock*, understand *Peter's* Faith in the Confession he had newly made, which, by the way, *Job. Ekus* * faith, nobody denied to be the Sense, and bids *Luther* name the Man that said otherwise: Others Christ himself, whom *Peter* had confessed to be the Son of God: Others *Peter*; and others *All the Apostles*; which last is the Exposition of *Paschasius Radbertus*, the famous Broacher of *Transubstantiation*, whose Words are these; † “The Church of God is built not “ only upon *Peter*, but upon all the Apostles.” Now they who follow the *first* and *second* Sense, can find no Prerogative here for *St. Peter* above the rest of the Apostles; and they that adhere only to the *third* (in Opposition to the other, as they now commonly do) are confuted by those who assert the *fourth*, that these Words were spoken to *all* the Apostles. And indeed, they are all forced to confess, that nothing is here promised, which is not contained in the next Words, *And I will give thee the Keys, &c.* But what this is, none of them can certainly tell. For one sort (such as *Cajetan*) hold, that the *Keys* contain more than *binding and loosing*;

* Lib. 1. contra Luther de Petri Primatu, cap. 13.

† Lib. 4. in Matthæum.

ART. XXXVII. which *Bellarmino* faith is false; nay, a thing never heard of in the Church. And consequently that as the Power of *Binding and Loosening* was promised to them all, *Matth. xviii. 18.* so likewise was the Power of the *Keys*; and since it is to be supposed that Christ promised nothing which he did not perform, he therefore gave the highest Power to them all, which is contained in the *Keys*. Here they are at a great Loss, and cannot agree how to bring themselves off from this Difficulty, which strips *Peter* of his Supremacy. Therefore some have devised the above-mentioned Conceit, that *Peter* alone had the *Keys* given him as their *Ordinary*, and they as his *Legates*. But this seems too gross to others, who acknowledge, they all had the *Keys* immediately from God, as much as *Peter*, if they be considered as *Apostles*, but not if they be considered as *Bishops* and *Pastors*; for these two Offices they fancy they had, the *Apostolical* and the *Pastoral* Dignity; the first immediately from Christ, the other by and under *St. Peter*. But this is, in a manner, the same thing in a little finer Dress than was said before. And therefore others of them who are unsatisfied with this, that the *Apostles* should receive their Jurisdiction from *St. Peter*, have so ordered the Matter, that *St. Peter* might use the *Keys* alone, but that they might not use them without him. But *Sixtus Senensis* could not digest this; and therefore he hath devised a three-fold Power in *St. Peter*, of *Apostleship*, of *Order*, and of the *Kingdom* *. With respect to the first he grants, that *St. Paul* was equal to *St. Peter*, because he had the Office of

* Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. 5. Annot. 149.

Preaching the Gospel, not from *Peter* but from ART. XXXVII. God, as much as *Peter* himself had. With respect to the *second* also he acknowledges the Truth of what *St. Jerom* writes against *Jovinian*, that *all the Apostles equally received the Keys, and firmly laid the Foundation of the Church*: And of what he says to *Evagrius*; *all Bishops are equal, because all the Apostles were so*. But then with respect to the *last*, viz. the Power of the Kingdom, and Authority over all Bishops and Churches, *Peter was Head of all*: That is, *Peter* must some Way or other be above all the rest, but how, *they* do not know. For *Cardinal Baronius* will have it, that all the Apostles had the Use of the *Keys* equally with *Peter*, by the *Ordinary Power of remitting Sins*; and by this Distinction expounds the fore-mentioned Words of *St. Jerom*. But his Brother *Cardinal Bellarmine*, (being aware, that if *Peter* had the *Keys* more than the rest by an extraordinary Power, his Authority would not descend upon his Successors) says quite contrary, that the Apostles had the Power of the *Keys* after an extraordinary manner, and *Peter* only by an ordinary †. Thus what one builds up, his Fellow pulls down. There is a Confusion of Tongues in this *Babel*, which they labour to erect. They cannot agree so much as about the *Terms* in which they deliver this new Doctrine. For it is a pure Invention without any Reason, or any Authority for it: But it must be so, though they know not how, because it is their Pleasure. As all the rest is which they draw from the last Place, *Feed my Sheep*. In which, they say, *Christ gave the*

† Lib. 1. de Rom. Pont. cap. 12.

ART. XXXVII. Power which he had *promised*; and therefore since he *promised* it to all, he *gave* it to all, if any thing was given here. And yet, against such clear Demonstration, they will have this to be a peculiar *Grant* to *Peter*: Nobody knows *how* or *why*, but because it seems good to them. For this is so little approved of by others, that they fairly grant the ancient Opinion was, (and make it theirs) that these Words were not spoken to *Peter* in a *Personal*, but in a *Publick* Capacity; as he represented all the Apostles. Inasmuch that they can find nothing peculiar to him, in the Word *Feed*, because of that of *St. Austin**; “When Christ said to *Peter*, he said to all, *Feed my Sheep*.” Nor in the Word *Sheep*, because *St. Ambrose* saith (in the Place before-named) “Those *Sheep* not only *Peter* received; but he received them with us, and we received them with him.” Which Things are so evident, that they have brought some of that Communion to this Conclusion, that out of none of these three Places, nor all of them together, can be gathered so much as the *bare Primacy* of *St. Peter*, after that manner which *Bellarmino* collects it: But it must be gathered thus; that in those Places, “*Peter* bears the Person of the Church, speaks for the rest of the Apostles, and is himself spoken unto by Christ in their Name, as the First and Principal.”† Behold then the Unity of which they boast in that Church; and how little Certainty there is among them, even of the main Point of their Faith, and, as *Bellarmino* makes bold to call it, the Sum of the Christian Religion. It stands upon

* De Agon. Christ. c. 30.

† Du Pin de Antiq. Eccl. Disc. Dis. 4.

to tottering a Foundation, that finding how little these Texts in the New Testament avail them, they ransacked the Old, to fetch some feeble Support to it from thence. And the *Catholick Scripturist* fancies the Old Testament helps them thus far in this Point, that it teaches, "That among the Priests of the Old Law, one was chosen successively to be the Highest and Chief Priest. Commanding all such Causes as are Ecclesiastical Causes, to be brought to the Tribunal of the High Priest, and his Sentence to be obey'd even under Pain of Death." And for this he alledges *Deut. xvii.*

8. † But this only proves how ignorant such Catholicks as he are in the Holy Scriptures. Where it is impossible for him to find that the *High Priests were chosen successively*, for they had that Dignity *by Inheritance*, in one certain Family, and not by *Election*. And as for the Power which he ascribes to them, (though he promises us, in his *Preface*, to produce *loud-speaking Texts for all the Points we dislike in their Religion*) there is not so much as a Whisper of it in the Place he alledges. The Words of which he did wisely not to quote, but only the *Chapter and Verse*: Which we, that have Liberty to read the Bible, can easily discern, *speake loudly* against him, and confute that Doctrine which he would confirm by them. *If there arise, says Moses in that Text, a Matter too hard for thee in Judgment, between Blood and Blood, between Plea and Plea, and between Stroke and Stroke, being Matters of Controversy within thy Gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the Place, which the Lord thy*

† Seventh Point.

ART. XXXVII. *God shall choose. And thou shalt come unto the Priests, the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those Days, and enquire, and they shall shew thee the Sentence of Judgment. And thou shalt do according to the Sentence which they of that Place (which the Lord shall choose) shall shew thee, &c.* I need not recite the rest at large to the End of the 12th Verse; for every understanding Reader must evidently see, without going further, that he speaks not a Syllable of the *High-Priest*, but of the Authority of the *Supreme Tribunal* or *Court* among the *Jews* (which consisted of a great Number of Persons) wherein all Controversies, which could not be ended in Inferior Courts, were to be finally determined, without any Appeal. In which *Supream Court* the *High-Priest* was so far from being the *Chief*, that he was not so much as admitted to be a Member, unless he was a *wise Man*. And then he did not bear an absolute Sway there, but the Sentence was passed by the *whole Council*; as appears (not merely from the *Jewish Writers*, but) from those repeated Admonitions in the very Body of this Law. *They shall shew thee the Sentence of Judgment*, ver. 9. and thou shalt do according to that thing, which *they* of that Place shew thee; and observe to do according to all that *they* inform thee (ver. 10.) according to the Sentence of the Law which *they* shall teach thee; according to the Judgment which *they* shall tell thee: *Thou shalt not decline from the Sentence which they shall shew thee*, (ver. 11.) where he must be blind, that doth not see no less than six flat Contradictions to the Assertion of the *Catholick Scripturist*, in this very Place which he produces, to prove that *Moses* here sets up the *Tribunal* of the *High-Priest*, and orders his *Sentence*

tence to be obeyed upon Pain of Death, in ART. XXXVII. *Causes Ecclesiastical*. This was neither his Court, nor were the Causes judged by his Sentence, nor is there one Word here of *Causes Ecclesiastical*; but only of *Civil*; between *Blood and Blood, Plea and Plea, Stroke and Stroke*: Unless we suppose the Word we translate *Stroke* relates to the *Plague* of the *Leprosy*, which belong'd to the Priests to judge of it; but excluded Men from all *Civil* as well as *Sacred Society*. And if the utmost be granted that can be supposed, (that there is Mention here of something appertaining to *Spiritual Causes*) yet it must be also allowed, by all Men of Sense, that this Text speaks most of *Civil Causes*; and therefore can no more prove an absolute Obedience to be due to *Spiritual* than to *Civil* Governors. All which being consider'd, I do not see but Dr. Reynolds had Reason to say, They might as well call in the Help of the first Words of *Genesis* [*In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*] as this Verse in *Deuteronomy*, to support the Pope's Supremacy. For there, as Pope Boniface the Eighth very gravely observes, (in that Piece of his already refer'd to) *Moses* says, God created the Heavens and the Earth, in the *Beginning*, not in the *Beginnings*; and therefore he who resists the *Pope's* Authority, resists the Ordinance of God; unless (with *Manichæus*) he feign two *Beginnings* (or Principles) which is false and heretical. And by such fine Fetches as this, *Innocent* the Third * proved his Power over the whole Church from these Words in *Deuteronomy*: But he did not

* Decret. Greg. Lib. 4. Tit. 17. cap. 13. per venerabilem.

ART. XXXVII.

mince the Matter (as the *Catholick Scripturist* doth) but stoutly affirmed, that the Pope may exercise *Temporal* Jurisdiction as well as *Spiritual*, not only in the *Church's Patrimony*, but in other Countries also, in certain Causes. " For
 " *Deuteronomy* being by Interpretation a *Second*
 " *Law*, it proves by the very Force of the
 " Word, that what is here decreed (in *Deut.*
 " xvii. 8.) ought to be observed in the New
 " Testament. And then the *Place which the*
 " *Lord hath chosen*, is the *Apostolick See*, viz.
 " *Rome*; the *Levitical Priests*, are his *Brethren*
 " the *Cardinals*; the *High-Priest* or *Judge*, is
 " the *Pope*, the *Vicar* of him who is a *Priest*
 " for ever, after the Order of *Melchisedeck*,
 " appointed by God the *Judge of Quick and*
 " *Dead*: The first sort of *Judgments* between
 " *Blood and Blood*, is meant of *Criminal* and
 " *Civil* Causes; the last, *between Stroke and*
 " *Stroke*, is meant of *Ecclesiastical* and *Cri-*
 " *minal*; the middle, *between Plea and Plea*,
 " belongeth to both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*; in
 " which, if any one contemn the Sentence of
 " the *Apostolical See*, he is deemed *to die*; that
 " is, *to be separated by the Sentence of Excom-*
 " *munication as a dead Man, from the Commu-*
 " *nion of the Faithful.*" Nothing is more evi-
 dent, than that, according to this *Catholick*
Exposition of Pope Innocent, the *Bishop of*
Rome is, by the *Divine Law*, *Head of all Chri-*
stians, as well in *Civil* Causes as in *Ecclesiastical*.
 This Text in *Deuteronomy* proves the one as much
 as the other; that is, it proves just nothing,
 but that the *Mystery of Iniquity* wrought very
 high, when such mystical Senses of Holy Scrip-
 ture were swallowed glibly, to confirm the
 chiefest *Mystery of the Romish Faith*. If it be
 said, that they argue from this Place only by a
 Parity

Parity of Reason; that there must be but one ART. XXXVII.
Higb-Priest among Christians, because there was
 no more among the *Jews*; they may have my
 Answer, when they prove that *Judea* was as
 big as the whole Christian World. As to *Mat.*
 xxiii. 2, 3. which the *Catholick Scripturist* calls
 an unanswerable Text concerning the *Higb-*
Priests of the Old Law; *The Scribes and Pha-*
risees sit in Moses's Seat. All therefore whatso-
 ever they bid you observe, that observe and do.
 Nobody but himself can see a Syllable in it
 concerning the *Higb-Priests*, who did not sit in
Moses's Chair, but were the Successors of *Aaron*.
 And besides this Place belongs to another Head
 of their Doctrine, about the Pope's *Infallibility*;
 of which, if this be a Proof, it likewise proves
 the *Infallibility* of *Annas* and *Caiphas*, and justi-
 fies those that crucified our Blessed Lord and
 Saviour.

THAT the Laws of the Realm may punish
 Christian Men with Death for heinous and
 grievous Offences, appears from *Rom.* xiii. 4.
 where *St. Paul* tells us, that a *Ruler is the Mi-*
nister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon
him that doth Evil, and that he beareth not the
Sword in vain. For 'tis certain that he must
 bear the Sword in vain, except it be in his
 Power to cut off some very great Offenders, be-
 cause nothing but Death will put a Stop to their
 Wickedness, or serve as a tolerable Check to
 others who are wickedly disposed. Because
 Man departing from God, saith *Irenæus*, be-
 came so outrageous, that he looked upon those
 of his own Flesh and Blood as his Enemies, and
 was not afraid to give himself up to an un-
 peaceable Life, Murder and Avarice, it pleased
 God to impose on him the Fear of Man, that
 Men

ART. XXXVII. Men being subject to the Laws of Men, there might be something of Justice and good Government among them, and that they might in earnest be afraid of the Sword, as the Apostle saith: For he beareth not the Sword in vain: For he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil. And for this Reason, the Magistrates being invested with the Laws of Justice, as long as they act uprightly and lawfully, they shall not be questioned or punished for what they do. †

THAT 'tis lawful for Christians, at the Command of the Magistrate, to bear Arms and serve in the Wars, is apparent from *Luke* iii. 14. where we see, that when the Soldiers came to *St. John the Baptist* to know their Duty, his Advice to them was only this, *Do Violence to no Man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your Wages.* There is not the least Hint that their Employment was unlawful. And *Acts* x. 2. *Cornelius*, a Centurion, that is, the Commander of an hundred Soldiers, is called a Devout Man; nor was he, when baptized, commanded to leave his Profession. And it sufficiently appears from *Tertullian de Coronâ Militis*, that Christians served in the Wars, even under Heathen Emperors.

† *Adv. Her.* lib. 5. cap. 24. See *Hammond's Pract. Cat.* Book 2. §. 5.



ARTICLE XXXVIII.


*Of Christian Mens Goods, which are
not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Christians are AR. XXXVIII.
not common as touching the Right,
Title, and Possession of the same, as
certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Not-
withstanding every Man ought of such
Things as he possesseth, liberally to give
Aims to the Poor, according to his
Ability.

The EXPOSITION.



IS said indeed, *Acts iv. 32.* that *the
Multitude of them that believed were
of one Heart, and of one Soul: Nei-
ther said any of them, that ought of
the Things which he possessed were his own, but
they had all Things common:* But that these
Words denote no more than a Charitable Con-
tribution, and not a Legal Community, appears
from *chap. v. ver. 4.* where *St. Peter* speaks to
Ananias concerning Part of the Price of the
Land which he had sold, and which he and his
Wife had agreed to keep back, in the following
Manner: *Whiles it remained, was it not thine
own? And after it was sold, was it not in thine
own Power?* And *S. Clement of Alexandria* ex-

AR. XXXVIII.  horts us not to suffer on the Account of what we possess when we have enough, but to help such as apply to us for Relief, and not to send them away empty-handed; and enforces his Exhortation from the Consideration of the Nature of Society, which would be destroy'd, or very much damaged, if Men were not to receive Favours from one another; and from that Precept of our Saviour's, *Make to yourselves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting Habitations*; which he says must be looked upon as manifestly opposite to the rest of his Precepts, if the Duty of Charity be neglected. And then he goes on to tell us, that this cannot be observed, where Men neglect to *feed the Hungry, to give Drink to the Thirsty, to cloathe the Naked, and to receive the Stranger*; and that they that do not these Things, but perform the cheap Part of their Duty only, are threatned with Hell Fire, and Outer Darkness.† And *Mat. xxv. 34, &c.* we are assured, That the Neglect or Performance of no Duty shall be so much taken Notice of, as of this great Duty of Charity to the Poor and Needy. And *1 Tim. vi. 18. Such as are rich in this World, are commanded to do Good, to be rich in good Works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate.* From all this it appears, that a Man is to relieve the Poor according to his Ability; and also that the Substance out of which he is to do it, is his own, since 'tis acknowledged to be so by Scripture and Antiquity; and since there would be none to give Alms, and none to receive, if all Things were common. ‡

† *Quis dives salv. c. 13.*

‡ See *Homily of Alms-deeds.*



ARTICLE XXXIX.

Of a Christian Man's Oath.

AS we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian Men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a Case of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophets teaching in Justice, Judgment, and Truth.

The EXPOSITION.



OUR Saviour's Words which this Article refers to are in *Mat. v. 34.* *But I say unto you, Swear not at all.* And those of *St. James* are in *chap. v. ver. 12.* *But above all Things, my Brethren, Swear not.* But 'tis very plain that these Words do only forbid heedless and needless Oaths: For, as *Tertullian* observes, God Almighty hath sworn himself, and yet we dare not accuse him of Perjury or vain Swearing*. So that in his


* *Adv. Marcion. lib. 2. c. 26.*

ART. XXXIX. Opinion, a Man does not sin by Swearing, except he forswears himself, or swears vainly, without due Cause or Warrant. One Text of Scripture, which *Tertullian's* Observation is built upon, is *Psalms* xc. 11. where 'tis said, that *God* sware in his Wrath, that the rebellious *Israelites* should not enter into his Rest. Our Saviour likewise himself, who surely did not break his own Laws when adjured by the High-Priest, that is, called upon by him to answer upon Oath, refused not to do it, *Mat.* xxvi. 63. What makes the Doctrine which I am endeavouring to establish, more clear, is, that the *Jewish Rabbi's* expressed themselves in the same manner that our Saviour and *St. James* have upon the Subject of Oaths; and yet it cannot be imagined that they scrupled them in such Cases as *Moses* had required them to be made Use of. Thus *Maimonides*, for instance, from the ancient *Rabbi's* gives this Rule, That it is best not to swear at all; and *Philo* useth almost the same Words. And *Rabbi Jonathan* comes very near our Saviour's Expression, when he says, "The just Man will not swear at all; not so much as by the common Names of God, nor by his Attributes, nor by his Works, as by Heaven, or the Angels, or the Law:" And that the *Essenes*, a Sect among the *Jews*, forbad all Swearing, and yet administered an Oath to all such as were admitted into their Society, in order to oblige them to observe the Rules of it.

LET it be consider'd further, that in other general Prohibitions, it is acknowledged by all, that we must make the same or the like Exceptions. Thus tho' our Saviour saith, *Matt.* v. 21. *Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill, shall*

shall be in Danger of the Judgment; yet we ART. XXXIX.
 all grant that this must be confined to private Persons, and that it forbids not the Magistrate's inflicting Capital Punishments; and then, that as to private Persons, it is meant only of killing innocent Men; but that still it is lawful for us in the Preservation of our own Lives, to kill those who unjustly assault us. So the Meaning of *Swear not at all*, is, that we must not swear of our own Motion, without any necessary or sufficient Cause. But this doth not infringe the Right which Magistrates have to impose Oaths on their Subjects, and to require the utmost and greatest Security for their Fidelity and Obedience; this doth not forbid Swearing, when it is requisite for the determining of important Controversies, or Distribution of Justice; when it is for the Publick Good, that our Testimony should be credited and made more valid by the Solemnity of an Oath: And that such Exceptions as these must be allowed from this general Rule, will appear, if we consider the positive Command that is opposed to the Prohibition of our Saviour, contained, as I said before, *Matt. v. 34.* from which the Words of *St. James Chap. v. ver. 12.* are plainly taken, and therefore what will explain the one, will also serve to explain the other. After *Swear not at all*, our Lord adds, *But let your Communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of Evil. Let your Communication,* that is your Speech, your ordinary familiar Discourse, *be yea, yea; nay, nay;* which was a proverbial Way of expressing an honest Man, whom you may believe and trust. *Iustorum etiam est etiam, & non eorum est non: His yea*
 C c c 3 was

ART. XXXIX.


was yea; and his no was no. His Promises and Performances did exactly and constantly agree; without any more ado you may give Credit to, and rely upon whatever he says, *whatever is more than these cometh of Evil*; that is, whatsoever is more than bare affirming or denying any Thing (that is still in our Communication, in our ordinary Talk and Discourse) is from *Evil*; from Mens so commonly breaking of Promises, and speaking of Falsities; from whence that lewd Custom of adding Oaths proceeds, because they cannot be believed without them. Now therefore since our Saviour is here directing us how to govern our common Discourse and Conversation together, the Prohibition also in the Beginning must be restrained to the same Matter, and so the full Sense of the Words is clearly this: In your Communication, in your common Talk, use no swearing, not so much as by any Creature, but let it suffice barely to affirm or deny; and be always so true to your Words, that nothing farther need be desired or expected from you; all other Confirmation in such ordinary Affairs, is practised only by such as are used to lye and dissemble, and intend to impose upon others. For it was, it seems, a common Practice amongst the *Jews*, to swear by some of God's Creatures, which Custom prevailed amongst them from a pretended Reverence of God's Holy Name: Whenever they would affirm any thing with more than ordinary Vehemence and Earnestness, or beget an Assurance of what they said, in another, they thought it not fit or decent presently to invoke the Sovereign God of Heaven and Earth, and on every slight and trivial Occasion, to run to the great Maker and Father of

 of

of all Things ; but in smaller Matters, and in ordinary Talk, they would swear by their *Parents*, by the *Heavens*, by the *Earth*, by *Jerusalem*, the *Altar*, *Temple*, their *Head*, or the like : Nor did they count such Forms of Swearing equally obliging with those Oaths wherein the Name of God was solemnly and expressly called upon. To this our Saviour probably refers, *ver. 33. Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old Time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine Oaths* : They thought such only incur'd the Guilt and Penalty of Perjury, who stood not to those Promises they had confirmed, by explicit calling the Lord himself to witness, but that there was but little Evil or Danger either in the common Use of Swearing by Creatures, or in breaking such Oaths. Now our Saviour here absolutely forbids Swearing by any of God's Creatures ; *Swear not at all*, no not so much as *by the Heavens*, by the *Earth*, or by *Jerusalem*. And the Reason he gives is, because in all such Forms of Swearing by Creatures, though God is not expressly named, yet he himself is really referred to, and tacitly invoked, who is the supreme Lord and Maker of all : When we swear by the *Heavens*, we call upon him whose Throne is there placed, when by the *Earth*, we appeal to him whose Footstool it is ; when by *Jerusalem*, we implicitly and by just Interpretation swear by him that is the great King thereof : See *Chap. xxiii. 20*. Now, who that seriously and impartially considers all this, can so much as dream of its affording an Argument against such Oaths as were, doubtless, confessedly obligatory ? For such only can any Government be supposed to require of its Subjects, such as there can be no Room to question the

Obligation of. And unless we suppose this, which I have suggested to be our Saviour's Meaning, I do not see what good Reason can be given why he should only forbid them expressly to swear by the Creatures, and not much rather by the Name of God; such Oaths being surely, of all others, most to be avoided, as being the most direct Abuse and Profanation of the Name of God. It is to be acknowledg'd, however, that some of the ancient Fathers, from these Words, did conclude it utterly unlawful for a Christian, at any Time, to swear; some of their Sayings are quoted by *Grotius*, in his Comment upon *Matth. v. 34*: But then it is to be consider'd; *First*, That there were but some few of them of this Opinion, and that against the current Doctrine of the Primitive Christians: And, *Secondly*, Against the known allowed Practice amongst them; for we all along find there were many Christians in the Armies of the *Heathen* Emperors, and they could not have served under them without taking the *Military Oath*, which they did not use to scruple, so they were not put to swear by any of their *Genii*, or *Heathen Deities*, or *Fortune*, or the like. *Thirdly*, That their great Argument against taking of Oaths was drawn from the invincible Faith and Truth of Christians, who upon no Consideration whatsoever, could either be forced or won to affirm what they knew to be false, or promise what they never intended to perform: And this they were so remarkable for, that they thought it a Diminution, or scandalous Affront offered to them, to be put to their Oaths; they always had such a Regard to their Words, and it was so sacred a thing at all times to speak Truth, that they would not be so much

distrusted

distrusted or disparaged, as to have the Security^{ART. XXXIX.}
 of an Oath requir'd of them ; the constant Tenor
 of their Lives they thought did bear a greater
 Testimony to what the Christians affirmed, and
 render it more credible, than the Oaths of
 any other Men ; and indeed, Lying was then
 more scandalous, than, I fear, Perjury is now.
 For as to the Nature of the thing, Swearing,
 when rightly circumstanced, is so far from be-
 ing a thing in itself evil, that it is indeed a most
 eminent Part of Religious Worship and Divine
 Adoration, by which we do most signally own
 and recognize God Almighty to be the great
 Sovereign Lord and Governor of the World,
 the highest and supreme Power, to which the
 last and final Appeal is in all Cases to be made.
 By it we acknowledge the Immensity of his
 Presence, his exact Knowledge and continual
 Care of human Affairs, and all Things that
 happen here below ; his all-seeing Eye, by
 which he searcheth into the Depth of our Hearts,
 and is conscious to our most inward Thoughts
 and secret Meanings. We do by it avow him
 as the grand Patron of Truth and Innocence,
 as the severe Punisher and Avenger of Deceit
 and Perfidiousness. And therefore doth God
 often in Holy Scripture appropriate this to him-
 self ; *Him only shalt thou serve, and to him shalt
 thou cleave, and shalt swear by his Name.* And
 if this be done with that Consideration and So-
 lemnity which doth become such a special Part
 of Devotion ; upon an Occasion that doth de-
 serve, and that will, in some measure, excuse
 our engaging the Divine Majesty as a Witness in
 it ; I say, if it be performed with due Awe
 and Reverence, with hearty Intention for a
 considerable Good, we do, by thus calling upon
 God

ART. XXXIX. God when we swear by him, honour and glorify his great and holy Name, as well as by Prayer or Praises, or any other Act of Religious Worship whatsoever. Add to this the Necessity of taking Oaths in order to civil Government, publick Administration of Justice, and the Maintaining of good Order and Peace in Societies. And therefore the Apostle tells us, *Heb. vi. 16. That an Oath for Confirmation to Men is the End of all Strife*; and that not by particular Customs and Laws prevailing in some Places only, but from the Appointment of God, the Reasonableness and Fitness of the thing itself, and the constant Practice of the World in all Ages: For as far and wide as the Sense of a Deity hath spread itself, hath also the Religion of an Oath, and the final Determination of Matters in Difference, by calling to Witness the Lord and Maker of all Things; this being the utmost Assurance, and the surest Pledge that Men can give of their Faith and Sincerity. For nothing can be imagined sufficient or effectual to engage Men to speak Truth, or to be faithful and constant to their Promises, if an Oath doth not. He must surely renounce all Sense and Fear of God, all Conscience of Duty or Regard to the Almighty's Love and Favour, who can with open Face call him to testify to a Lye, or challenge him to punish him, if he speaks not true, when yet at that very Time he knows he does not. This is the greatest Security Men can give of their Honesty, and that they mean as they say. And it being necessary for the Government of the World in so many Cases (indeed in too many to be here particularly specified) that Truth should be found out, and the greatest
 Certainty

Certainty of it be given that can possibly, and that Men should, by the strictest Ties, be obliged to some Duties; it thence also became necessary, that Oaths should sometimes be required, especially when Men cannot by other Means well assure the Sincerity of their Intentions, or secure the Fidelity of their Resolutions. Upon the whole, tho' I readily grant, that there is scarce any Error whatsoever, that hath a more plausible Colour from Scripture, than the Opinion concerning the utter Unlawfulness of Oaths, which makes the Case of those who are seduced into it the more pityable, yet it ought to be considered, how much it reflects upon the Christian Religion, since it is so evidently prejudicial, both to human Society in general, and particularly to those Persons that entertain it; neither of which ought rashly to be supposed and taken for granted, concerning any Law delivered by our Saviour; because upon these Terms, it will be very hard for us to vindicate the Divine Wisdom of our Saviour's Doctrine, and the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion.

THE Prophet mention'd in this Article as teaching us to swear in Judgment, Justice, and Truth, is *Jeremiah*. The Place hereby referr'd to is *chap. iv. ver. 2*. And in the 'Third Commandment we are assured, that *God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain*. And *Zeck. v. 4*. that *a Curse shall enter into the House of the Thief, and of him that sweareth falsely by the Name of God*. From whence we may observe, that next to Idolatry and the Worship of a false God, Perjury is one of the greatest Affronts that can be offered to the Di-

vine

ART. XXXIX. vine Majesty, one of those Sins that cry aloud to Heaven, and quicken the Pace of God's Judgments; a Sin which by the secret Judgment of God undermines Estates and Families to the utter Ruin of them. And indeed, among the *Heathen*, it was always reckoned among the greatest of Crimes, and which they did believe God did not only punish upon the guilty Person himself, but upon his Family and Posterity, and many times upon whole Nations; as the *Prophet* also tells us, that *because of Oaths the Land mourns*. I need not use many Words to aggravate this Sin; it is certainly a Crime of the highest Nature. Deliberate Perjury being directly against a Man's own Knowledge, so that no Man can commit it without staring his Conscience in the Face; which is one of the greatest Aggravations of any Crime: And it is equally a Sin against *both Tables*, being the highest Affront to God, and of most injurious Consequence to Men. It is an horrible Abuse of the Name of God, an open Contempt of his Judgments and an insolent Defiance of his Vengeance; and in Respect of Men, it is not only a Wrong to this or that particular Person who suffers by it, but Treason against human Society; subverting at once the Foundations of publick Peace and Justice, and the private Security of every Man's Life and Fortune: It is a defeating of the best and last Way that the Wisdom of Men could devise for the Decision of doubtful Matters. *Solomon* very fully and elegantly expresseth the destructive Nature of this Sin, *Prov. xxv. 18. A false Witness against his Neighbour, is a Maul, and a Sword, and a sharp Arrow; intimating, that amongst all the Instruments of Ruin and Mischief that have been devised by*

Mankind,

Mankind, none is of more pernicious Consequence to human Society than Perjury, and Breach of Faith. It is a *Pestilence that usually walketh in Darknes*, and a secret Stab and Blow, against which, many times there is no Possibility of Defence.

I CONCLUDE with the Words of St. *Augustin*, which contain a great deal of good Advice, and are very much to the Purpose: "Avoid Swearing as much as you can: For 'tis better not to swear the Truth, than to accustom one's self to Swearing, by which Men fall into Perjury, and are always in Danger of so doing." But they, as far as I can hear, that scruple the Use of Oaths, are entirely ignorant of what an Oath is. For they imagine that they don't swear when they use these Words; *God knoweth*; and *God is my Witness*; *I call God for a Record upon my Soul*; because they don't use these Words, *By God*, and because the Words before-mention'd are found in the Writings of St. *Paul*. But even such Words as they confess to be Swearing are found there too. Thus the Apostle saith, *I protest by your Rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily*. In the *Greek Copies*, this Sentence is a complete Oath. This I observe, that no Man may imagine that the Words, [*By your Rejoicing*] are like these, [*By my Coming again to you*] and the like, in which we say, *By a Thing*, without Swearing. But because St. *Paul*, who was a Man of unshakable Veracity, swore in his Epistles, we must not trifle and make Sport with Oaths. For 'tis much safer, as I said before, to avoid Swearing as much as we can, and to let our Communication be Yea, yea, and

ART. XXXIX. and Nay, nay ; as our Lord advises us. Not because 'tis a Sin to swear the Truth ; but because 'tis a very grievous Sin to swear falsely, which that Man is most likely to be guilty of who swears often. *

* *Ad Hilarium Ep.* 89. See *Hammond's Pract. Cat.* Book II. §. 8. *Nowelli Cat.* p. 20, 21. *Homily against Swearing,* Part I. *Sanderson de Obligatione Juramenti Praelect.* 1. *Tillotson on Heb.* vi. 16.

Gloria DEO.


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